

SNM

Close Encounters
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IN THESE TIMES



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Photo by Jane Melnick

Chicago's Democratic Machine seemed indestructible. But Jane Byrne, Consumer Sales Commissioner and one of Daley's most trusted allies, has thrown a large monkey wrench into its works. Page 3.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Doyle Niemann

Rick Scott

A Democrat with a small 'd'

Some people were revolutionary socialists; everyone else was engaged, in one way or another, in propping up the system. Burning down a draft board or rioting in the streets were revolutionary acts that brought America closer to socialism. Running for office, or negotiating a union contract merely kept the system going.

These distinctions, which some American leftists made during the late '60s, left them unable to understand, let alone swim in, the choppy water of the '70s. These leftists were driven either to hopelessness or to a political mysticism in which they imagined subterranean layers of the working class ready to explode into revolutionary action, but held down by bureaucrats, politicians, and, of course, other leftists.

They would be unable to see Rick Scott or what Rick Scott does as important.

What's good for the people.

Rick Scott is the chairman of the Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor party and is on the Winograd Rules Committee of the Democratic party, the committee that will recommend the rules for the 1980 Democratic party convention. Scott sees fundamental issues of democracy in the seemingly arcane struggle over party rules: can we have a party system that holds our elected officials accountable and that allows the otherwise powerless access to political power. He accuses the Carter administration of being on the wrong side.

Scott was a philosophy professor, then the academic vice-president of a small Catholic college in Minnesota. He got interested in politics during the Vietnam war. In 1968, he wanted to work against the war. Trying to find a Democratic party meeting so that he could help Eugene McCarthy, he ended up at a Republican party meeting.

"They kept saying: 'We've got to protect what we have,'" Scott said. Scott even stuck with the Republicans for several months, but then he went to a Democratic meeting. At Democratic gatherings Scott heard people arguing in terms of "what's good for the people," not simply for themselves.

Scott knows that there are different kinds of Democrats, but he believes that the party has an historic commitment to democracy and to "providing the powerless with an avenue to political participation" that makes it special. It is important both to advance these principles through the party and defend them against incumbent presidents who want to reduce the party to their echoes.

Scott ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1974 and lost to an incumbent. In 1975, he was tapped for the state chairmanship.

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Judge in courtroom.

I interviewed Scott at the Democratic Agenda conference, sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Over the last year, Scott has lent his name to DSOC's projects without being a member. He doesn't call himself a "socialist" but a "social-democrat."

"I've discovered that 'ists' and 'isms' tend to turn people off in our section of the country," he said. "If you're an 'at' rather than an 'ist,'" Scott explained, you can advocate nationalizing the energy industry and no one blinks.

Being a social-democrat means, according to Scott, that one sees as their "primary commitment good things for all the people in the society." On unemployment, the issue at hand, he explained that the unemployed must rate higher than "business confidence."

As the chair of the Minnesota Democratic Farm Labor party, Scott sees his role "as being analogous to the judge in the courtroom. Fundamentally, I can't tilt the process toward the view of any candidate."

Scott seems atypical for a state leader. He is quiet, almost humble; he seems like a listener rather than a talker. It is only when he speaks in public, as he did at the Conference, that an underlying self-assurance and calm assertiveness appear.

Keeping out extreme liberals.

Scott's political convictions can find direct expression on the Winograd Rules Commission. The Rules Commission has been a Democratic party battleground since the McGovern commission drafted a set of party reforms—after the 1968 convention debacle—that opened party ranks to youth, minorities and women and undercut the power of city and state political leaders.

The Winograd Commission was created in 1976 to review the rules for the 1980 convention. Scott is one of 57 members. The *Baron Report* identifies about a dozen members as being from the party's "anti-reform" wing; about 20 from the "new politics" wing; with the other two dozen in the middle. Carter administration staffers Mark Siegel, Rick Hutcheon and pollster Patrick Caddell are the principal Carter representatives.

Scott sees the main issue on the committee being to "retain the open party style that was adopted in response to Watergate and Vietnam." In general, this means that the national and state party organizations must be defined as "representing ordinary citizen members to their elected officials even more than representing the views of those elected officials to the ordinary members." The party organization must function to make the elected officials "accountable."

This means ensuring that the party functions as a way for the "out's" to become "in"—for minorities, women, Native Americans and others to find within the Democratic party a means to express their views. The McGovern reforms started the party on this path. Scott hopes to keep it there.

The alternative, Scott says, is a party that is merely "a public relations arm of the president"—a "Johnson-style party." So far, Scott believes, Carter's representatives are attempting to revive just such a set-up, both in reshaping the rules committee and the 1978 midterm convention. (See Inside Story, July 13.)

Carter representative Mark Siegel has reiterated, according to Scott, that he doesn't want the party to be the means by which "extreme liberal" views are expressed. He says that Siegel pointed out to Midwest Democratic National Committee members that Vietnam and Watergate were unique events that should not be used to determine a president's relation to his party.

Eat your veggies.

On the rules committee, the Carter representatives have tipped their hand several times, according to Scott.

The decisions at national conventions, from the nomination of a presidential candidate to the adoption of a platform, are made by candidate delegates apportioned according to their candidate's showing in the primary. Since 1968, each candidate's delegates to the national convention have been elected by local Democrats rather than appointed by party bosses.

In 1972, this resulted in several delegates that were ostensibly pledged to Wallace but did not intend to vote for him. In order to prevent this from happening, the 1972 convention decided to give presidential candidates veto power over their delegates.

But in 1976 presidential nominees abused their veto power by using it to secure slates. If a delegate they wanted was not included, they simply vetoed everyone ahead of their chosen delegate. "Candidates would go in," Scott explained, "and say—'this is the list of candidates I approve. I disapprove of everybody else, and that's it folks.'" The effect is to have a slate of delegates personally loyal to the candidate on all the issues and unwilling to rock the boat.

The rules committee has been discussing going back to the original proposal, but the Carter people have offered a compromise in which the candidates would make up a slate two or three times as long as the delegates they had earned, and the local Democrats could then choose from them. Scott calls this proposal "eat your veggies" after a tactic he uses to get his kids to eat vegetables. "You ask your kids, do you want sourkraut or beets; what they really want is neither, but the way I word the question it sounds like there is a choice."

Grant Park in 1980.

The White House also proposed that only a presidential candidate receiving 25 percent of a state's vote (rather than the 15 percent required in 1976) be given an appropriate share of the state's delegates at national conventions. The effect of this rule would be to prevent an opposition candidate from getting enough votes to raise issues, let alone to challenge Carter or a future incumbent. Scott likens the Carter move to Nixon's attempt to squeeze the Pete McCloskey antiwar delegates out of the 1972 convention.

The Carter people give "consensus-building" as their rationale, but Scott scorns it. "Those words tumble out of people's mouths and to listen to them you'd think that the 1976 convention was wracked by disharmony."

Communications Workers president Glenn Watts proposed that the cutoff instead be reduced to 10 percent. Seeing some support for Watts and substantial opposition to their own proposal, the Carter representatives offered a compromise 20 percent cutoff.

Scott cites other similar issues: a proposal for limiting the total primary time span to 90 days, a proposal he believes would prevent any unknowns like Carter from building up a candidacy and another proposal for making Democratic elected officials automatic delegates.

Collectively, the Carter-backed proposals would "favor strong well known, well funded presidential candidates to the point of eliminating other hopefuls." They would ensure that the 1980 convention was "pabulum."

If the Carter proposals get adopted next spring when the committee makes its final recommendations, Scott told a workshop on the Democratic party at the conference that he "would see them in Grant Park in 1980."

Scott believes that the Democratic party's future is important to the future of American democracy, and that its transformation back into a "Johnson-style" party would be a setback for democrats with small as well as a capital 'd.'

Insofar as socialism will represent the extension of democracy, it will also be a defeat for the "ists" as well as the "ats."

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Bilandic gets Byrned



Michael Bilandic (above) moved into Richard Daley's office last December after the late mayor's death. He supposedly learned everything he knows about Chicago politics at the knee of "Da Mare." But it now appears he learned too little—or maybe too much.

By David Moberg
The political palace that Mayor Richard Daley built in his 22 years as uncrowned king of Chicago has been shaken, chipped, stained and exposed as a hazard to public safety and morality by such a series of scandals, feuds and bungling moves within less than a month that it is doubtful, even with the best rehabilitation work, that it will ever look the same again.

Few people are predicting the imminent death of the Machine, but the assessment of the local Democratic party's troubles range from "shakeout" during an "interregnum" (the view of those close to the Machine) to "balkanization" of power and "potential of opening up" local politics (the independent, reform politics prognosis).

Michael Bilandic, who moved into Daley's office rapidly last December after the late mayor's death, was praised as having learned everything he knew about politics at the knee of "Da Mare." But events of recent weeks suggest he may have learned too little—or perhaps too much—and assumed too quickly that he inherited the power as well as the post of the one-time master of Chicago politics.

Organization Democrats looked bad when convictions for two Daley-era scandals hit within a week of each other in early November. First, two wealthy and powerful construction magnates who were close to Daley, along with four of their firms and three other companies, were convicted of conspiracy and 37 counts of mail fraud for rigging bids on the \$47.5 million resurfacing of a long expressway stretch in 1975.

Then three businessmen, one state representative from Chicago and a former Sanitary District vice-president were convicted of participating in a \$1.3 million bribery scheme to win lucrative contracts to haul sludge from the city's San-

itary District to downstate dumping spots. The government's main witness claimed that Mayor Daley "was calling the shots."

But another potentially more serious scandal was already breaking before those convictions. *Daily News* columnist Mike Royko revealed that the late Judge William Lynch and Judge George Schaller, two of Mayor Daley's former law partners, had owned two-thirds of the Airline Canteen Service. The firm had profited handsomely from an exclusive concession at O'Hare airport since 1962.

Then it was revealed that Airline Canteen may have been grossly understating its revenues. O'Hare airport—the world's busiest with 36 million passengers in 1976—was reportedly grossing far less than airports with slightly more than a quarter of O'Hare's traffic.

Moreover, Airline Canteen had not supplied certified statements of income as required by its lease. State's Attorney Bernard Carey, a reform-minded Republican, and the U.S. attorney's office announced investigations. Bilandic canceled the contract and ordered an audit. Then four boxes of Airline Canteen records mysteriously disappeared in an alleged car theft.

The taxi scandal.

Another big bombshell exploded when the Commissioner for Consumer Sales, Jane M. Byrne, accused Mayor Bilandic of "fraudulent and conspiratorial" action in "greasing" the approval of an unjustified 11.7 percent taxi fare increase last July.

The unprecedented accusations by a member of the Cabinet against the Mayor and several powerful aldermen revealed that Bilandic has been able neither to establish the control over his administration nor to evoke the slavish loyalty that Daley enjoyed.

Here's what seems to have happened: In the summer of 1976 Don Reuben, an attorney for one of the city's top law firms, whose clients included Yellow and Checker cabs, numerous large local corporations and much of the news media, called Alderman Ed Vrodolyak to arrange a meeting between Byrne and cab company executives. Vrodolyak is a young up-and-comer in the Machine. Reuben was recently included in a list of the ten most powerful men in Chicago.

Byrne's office kept tabs on the city's cabs, nearly monopolized by Checker and Yellow. Both firms are part of an interlocked financial empire that includes the Checker cab manufacturers, taxi insurance and an airport limousine service. Within the last two years, the companies have been switching from commission cabs to leasing, which gives them much higher profits according to their own initial data (see *IN THESE TIMES*, Nov. 15, 1976). They have also been the object of a three-year anti-trust investigation by the Federal Trade Commission.

The cab companies wanted another fare hike, but Byrne recorded in an explosive memorandum to herself, written on July 19 of this year, that she was convinced by an outside auditor's figures that no increase was justified.

Meanwhile, another young City Council powerhouse, Edward Burke, a close ally of Vrodolyak, was threatening the cab companies with a \$15 million class action suit over the 1974 rate hike of 19 percent.

A taxi drivers strike seemed imminent as Bilandic was elected on June 7. The next day he met with Checker cab president Jerry Feldman and several top city officials, including Byrne, at Midway Airport. After a brief review of the figures, Byrne's memo charges, Bilandic discounted the auditor's report and hinted that Feldman should revise his figures to make the fare increase appear justifiable.

At a meeting the next day, Byrne

charged, Bilandic promised to call a special city council meeting, but said, "We won't make the rate increase the reason for the Council meeting. We'll blow up some other matter to look important and quietly tack the increase on in unfinished business.... That's how it's done."

At a later meeting Bilandic reportedly counseled Feldman on how to make up his loss from a minor concession to the taxi drivers by raising the lease rate. "Gotcha," Feldman allegedly told Bilandic, "we think alike."

The rate increase went through. Byrne was still angry. Shortly after her close friend Daley's death she had been stripped of her honorary position as co-chair of the Democratic party. Word apparently got out that she had talked with federal investigators. On Nov. 10 Royko disclosed that the Justice department was investigating Bilandic's role. Alderman Burke, who had quietly dropped his suit against the cab companies, called for stripping Byrne's power over the cabs.

Fearing she would be a scapegoat in the scandal, Byrne publicly revealed her memo. At the request of the *Daily News* she took a lie detector test and passed. Then Bilandic privately arranged his own lie detector test on questions he had carefully framed, and passed it. Then on Nov. 21, he told reporters that Jane Byrne had been fired.

The next day, at a special meeting called by the three independent aldermen, the City Council established a committee with broad powers to investigate the rate hike.

Burke, Vrodolyak and most other party figures, as well as big money backers of Bilandic, have rallied to his support, but a CBS poll shows that only 11 percent of the public believes his version. Vrodolyak, giving the administration view, called the scandal a "personality conflict," suggested that Byrne is "going through a very difficult time in her life and...has not been acting in a very sound way" and claimed that Bilandic simply mediated a difficult labor dispute in order to "keep the cabs running" for the wonderful people of this wonderful city.

Bilandic supporters apparently hope all the blame can be shifted on to the cab companies if investigations show their figures were fraudulent. So far nobody has been charged with receiving payoffs, but even if there are no prosecutions, Bilandic and the organization Democrats have undoubtedly been hurt politically.

Who benefits?

With the independent political movement at its lowest ebb in years, however, the main beneficiaries will be the Republicans. Next year the Republicans have a strong, popular slate of candidates, including Gov. James Thompson and Sen. Charles Percy, against a lackluster Democratic slate, approved in the midst of a scandal. It was worsened as Chicago ward bosses upset slate-making by county and state leaders to substitute two corruption-tainted figures. Women, downstate Democrats and blacks have all protested vigorously against the ticket.

The main Democrat likely to benefit is Thomas Tully, a popular, powerful young Machine Man, who very conveniently and surprisingly quit his influential post as Cook County Assessor just before the cab scandal broke. Tully, now clear of the mud flying and away from a job that draws taxpayer ire as assessments rise rapidly, has already hinted that he might be interested in the 1979 mayoralty race.

The recent scandals give some sense of how Chicago politics work. Of course, boodle has always "greased" the way for profitable contracts and city deals. Sometimes it has been money under the table, sometimes shares in a richly rewarding enterprise, and sometimes it has been cam-

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NUCLEAR POWER

Clamshell opens anti-nuke campaign

Lionel Delevingne

PUTNEY, VT.—Over 300 “Clams”—members of the Clamshell Alliance—met here Nov. 4-6 in their first full-scale Congress. The organizers of the largest recent civil disobedience action, at the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant site in May, spent the three days considering future actions, philosophy and organizational structure.

The Congress involved all local anti-nuclear groups linked to the Clamshell Alliance in New England, and came just a few days before the start of appeal trials in Rockingham County Superior Court. (Three defendants were found guilty and sentenced to 15 days in jail and given \$100 fines the next week.)

The Congress began with the Clamshell Coordinating Committee reporting that plant construction at Seabrook is very much in doubt. The Town of Seabrook has refused the Public Service Company (PSC), builder of the plant, access to needed water. The utility also says a \$30 million rate hike is needed to finish the plant and that without its approval PSC's bond rating will plummet and banks will continue to withdraw support.

The plant also faces opposition from Gov. Michael Dukakis of neighboring Massachusetts, who has announced his intention to fight the Seabrook plant before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission on economic grounds.

Local caucuses and six working groups were the dual bases of discussion when the process of consensus decision-making got underway Saturday. “Clams” moved back and forth between the two groups, focusing on proposals and resolutions that had been submitted in advance—along with a few developed during the weekend.

The “principles and resolutions” working group spent several hours revising the Clamshell “Declaration of Nuclear Resistance.” Changes were minor, but opposition to nuclear weapons was more directly linked to the “peaceful” use of nuclear power.

During the debate over principles a minority also criticized the limitations of “pacifism.”

Divisions surfaced in other groups about the forms of representation and the pros and cons of centralization. Despite the coordinating committee's desire to strengthen committee processes, local autonomy continued to hold sway and many disagreements remained unresolved as the Plenary Session for all “Clams” began Sunday afternoon.

By 3:30 p.m. the auditorium was packed. The Congress Steering Commit-



Plant construction at Seabrook is very much in doubt. The town has refused the Public Service Company, builder of the plant, access to needed water.

tee, composed of representatives from each working and local group, finished organizing the resolutions just as speakers from Environmentalists For Full Employment were edged off the stage.

After the first order of business, reaffirmation of Clamshell's Founding Statement and Declaration of Resistance, was handled, spirited debate emerged over a variety of practical issues.

Agreement was eventually reached on a future occupation—scheduled for June 24, 1978—as well as a plan for blockade of the reactor vessel when it is shipped to the site. There were also proposals for public education and canvassing, working ties with other groups, such as the Granite State Alliance, which are fighting the PSC rate hike, and an organizational structure to be used for one year.

Structure prompted a three-hour debate, during which consensus was blocked on grounds of elitism and disenfranchise-

ment of Clam groups from New York and New Jersey. A decentralized structure was finally accepted, providing for local autonomy, formation of regional or state coordinating groups, and a formula for representation on the New England Coordinating Committee.

Tactics will be further developed and refined through local group study. The next occupation may either be a mass action or a wave approach. The waves could be small—perhaps 200 people a day for weeks, or, as one participant suggested, large waves of several thousand each.

Because of limited time, some proposals did not reach the floor during the plenary session. A proposal from the labor committee to strengthen ties with unions and support boycott and strike actions is still in the works, along with a resolution to support the goals of the Mobilization For Survival.

A group as vigorous and democratic

as Clamshell defies easy definition. The limitations of a single-issue focus are readily admitted, and many “Clams” argue that the Alliance is an organizational model for a new society. As such, it must promote not only an end to nukes but many basic changes in social values.

Disagreements over strategy and tactics aside, the participants at the Congress solidly supported the Alliance's basic principles. The hundreds who convened in Vermont and thousands throughout the Northeast continue to demand “an immediate and permanent halt to the construction and export of nuclear power plants, weapons and technology.”

At their Congress the “Clams” demonstrated their commitment to democratic process and a readiness to lead the fight against nuclear power in New England in the years ahead.

Greg Guma is a free-lance writer in Vermont.

High noon for Indiana Dunes

CHESTERTON, IND.—For the residents of Chicago and northern Indiana the Dunes State Park is the closest thing they have to a wilderness area—over 2,000 acres of oak trees, witch hazel, bracken fern and other vegetation cushioned by pillows of sand dunes and laced with dozens of hiking trails. Located 30 miles from Chicago on the shore of Lake Michigan, the Dunes were used by almost 1.5 million visitors last year, making it the most heavily-used park in the area.

If a local utility company has its way, the Dunes may earn the additional distinction of being the most dangerous park in the state.

Since 1967 the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO) has wanted to build a nuclear power plant adjacent to the park. After years of back and forth court battles, construction recently began on the plant. The final barrier to its continuation may be the activities of the three-month-old Bailly Alliance, a regional anti-nuclear group which sponsored a march and rally of about 100 people against the plant on Nov. 19.

The main points of controversy are the impact of the plant on the Dunes and the potential danger to nearby urban areas. Russ Bohn, NIPSCO nuclear staff member, argues that the plant is essential to meeting increased electricity consumption and that nuclear reactors “have the best safety record of any industry in the country, and probably in the world.”

On the other hand, Ed Gogol, Illinois spokesman for the Bailly Alliance, says, “If the Bailly nuclear plant is built, it will generate every year an immense amount of radioactive poisons. A catastrophic accident could cause release of a deadly cloud of radioactive gases and particles. Many thousands of people could be killed or injured and rates of cancer and genetic disease would increase. Property damage could run to the tens of billions of dollars and the entire southern Lake Michigan region would be contaminated for hundreds of years.”

“The Dunes is the only place in the area where steelworkers can see some natural beauty, to get away from the environment in the mills,” adds Joe France of United Steel Workers' Local 1010. Their local,

which represents workers at Inland Steel, has come out against the plant.

Also opposed are Illinois Senators Charles Percy and Adlai Stevenson III, who have requested the Interior department to block construction. Illinois Rep. Sidney Yates has also asked President Carter to intervene on behalf of Bailly opponents. And Nathaniel Reed, an Interior department official under Nixon, has termed approval of the site a “colossal error,” since an accident would occur near almost 20 percent of the country's steel-making capacity.

Opponents point to alternatives, like conservation, solar and wind power, that would provide ample energy at lower cost with greater reliability. They also point out that in the last four years the estimated cost for building the “Bailly nuke” has increased from \$180 million to \$705 million, and that this increase, in addition to the soaring cost of uranium, will make nuclear-produced electricity exceedingly expensive. NIPSCO has already asked for a 17 percent rate hike to pay for the plant.

The project would also add to the 1 mil-

lion gallons of polluted water that an already existing fossil fuel plant, which would continue to operate alongside the nuclear plant, is feeding each day into the Dunes through ash pond seepage. NIPSCO has thus far been unable to satisfy the Interior department that it has found an adequate solution to the seepage problem.

Opponents also fear that the plant's 450-foot-high cooling towers would add moisture and heat to the air which would react with the sulfur dioxide and trioxide emitted by nearby steel mills to produce sulfuric acid. This acid, they say, would rain down on the Dunes as a mist and harm plant life in the park.

These factors have led to the Bailly Alliance, whose purpose and organizational structure are patterned after New Hampshire's Clamshell Alliance, to declare “unequivocal and peaceful opposition to the Bailly nuke.” While the recent demonstration was relatively small, it included people from three states, some with experience in East Coast anti-nuclear efforts.

ELECTIONS

Beantown busing runs out of gas

By Sidney Blumenthal

BOSTON—The defeat of three prominent anti-busing politicians has effectively ended busing as an issue in Boston. The vote was a direct repudiation of the politics practiced by Louise Day Hicks, John Kerrigan and Pixie Palladino, all of whom built their careers on the racial question.

For more than a decade the tone of local affairs in Boston, nationally reputed to be a bastion of liberal enlightenment, has been dominated by these politicians and the anti-busing organization they founded—ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights).

Mayor Kevin White, a moderate liberal with strong national ambitions, tried to ride out the busing crisis by waffling and reaching an accommodation with Hicks and company to temper their excesses. He hoped that by giving the anti-busing leaders, especially Hicks and her entourage, some patronage he could eventually master the situation. In the end, however, he simply outlasted the anti-busers, whose movement is now in shambles.

"You know where I stand."

Louise Day Hicks, an imposing presence, is the grande dame of South Boston, an all-white, largely Irish enclave, which has long had an identity apart from the city. Its residents regard themselves more as being from Southie than from Boston. Their insular attitude did not serve them well in the busing crisis, since they often failed to understand the larger workings of law and politics.

Hicks shared that provincialism. She was the dutiful daughter of a local judge and lived her whole life in Southie. She was elected to the Boston School Committee in the early 1960s without any clear political platform. Who she was—a middle-aged mother born into a political family—was enough for her constituents.

Her reputation was made when the civil rights movement in Boston blossomed. In 1964 blacks staged a boycott of schools. The following year the NAACP appealed to the School Committee, whose employees are typically more concerned with patronage than pedagogy, to desegregate the school system. Hicks answered the charges by claiming that blacks sought to destroy "neighborhood schools," a term she coined. Her position was implicitly understood by her supporters and she began to campaign under the slogan: "You know where I stand."

Thought she could stop busing.

Hicks contended that busing was an impossibility in Boston because of her popularity. She naively believed that she could thwart the intent of federal law. For a while she was successful, as the NAACP's law suit against the School Committee dragged slowly through the courts. But in 1974, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity issued a lengthy ruling in which he detailed the segregation patterns maintained by the School Committee and ordered the system integrated, a process to be achieved by busing.

Hicks' rhetoric scared, inspiring her followers in Southie violently to resist the judge's decree. There were numerous incidents: buses stoned, individual blacks assaulted, the pro-busing *Boston Globe's* delivery trucks hijacked.

Hicks publicly deplored the violence, although she was perhaps the one most responsible for creating a climate in which it thrived. Over the years she had done things such as releasing a fabricated study that supposedly demonstrated that murder was a common form of activity in Roxbury, the black ghetto. Her figures were unfortunately all untrue.

She did appear to be genuinely upset when the anti-busing movement seemed to spin out of her control and adopt more of a direct action approach. Hicks believed that lobbying and legislative work,



Louise Day Hicks (above), John Kerrigan and Pixie Palladino were repudiated by Boston voters as the busing issue faded and a black, John O'Bryant, was elected to the School Committee.

buttressed by mass pressure, could override Judge Garrity's decision.

An overt racist.

The lack of results brought by Hicks' strategy led to temporary enhancement of the power of John Kerrigan, by turns a city councilman and school committeeman. Kerrigan is an overt racist—unlike Hicks, who expresses her opinions in a peculiarly dainty manner.

Kerrigan is unafraid to use the word "nigger" in public and tells racist jokes that would embarrass Earl Butz to anyone who will listen. When Lem Tucker, an ABC reporter, was covering the busing story for the network Kerrigan taunted him by imitating an ape. "Want a banana?" Kerrigan shouted at Tucker. Kerrigan referred to all journalists as "mag-gots."

Kerrigan favored a militant policy against integration, refusing to disavow violence. Eventually the *Boston Globe* returned his compliments by exposing the fact that a city employee on his staff spent her time at home addressing his Christmas cards. His star dimmed when the errant no-show freeloader confessed her slothful habits. The incident made Kerrigan's character suddenly evident to voters who had apparently never before been bothered by it.

An ideological racist.

Kerrigan's chief ally in the anti-busing movement was Pixie Palladino, elected to the School Committee on the basis of her reputation of making race an issue in

her community, largely Italian East Boston. She was the most consistently militant anti-busing politician and seemed to have more ideological direction than Kerrigan.

Under Palladino's influence, ROAR split into two distinct factions, one backing her and another backing Hicks, as the anti-busing movement became more frustrated by its failure to triumph over Judge Garrity.

Palladino's faction was infiltrated by members of the John Birch Society, who had little personal power in ROAR. The Birchers were too middle-class for ROAR's hard-liners, although their political line seemed to find many adherents.

Palladino was outside the mainstream of Boston politics, which Hicks was not. The Hicks deal with Mayor White was an indication of who the Mayor thought he could do business with, and Palladino reacted by accusing Hicks of selling out the cause. They became bitter rivals, a competition that hurt them both with the voters.

Busing becoming accepted.

By the beginning of the 1977 school year, Bostonians had begun to accept busing as a reality. All but the most rigid anti-busers recognized that there was no way to stop it. The shrewder politicians from Southie shifted gears, taking up issues like abortion.

But Hicks kept telling the electorate: "You know where I stand." She couldn't let go of the racial issue. Neither could Kerrigan, trying to fight off the corrup-

tion charge, and Palladino, who had no instinct other than for the jugular.

When the votes were counted all three went down in defeat. It was a last hurrah without dignity. There is very little nostalgic feeling, even among their former supporters.

Dramatically highlighting the change in Boston politics was the election of a black, John O'Bryant, to the School Committee, only the second black to be voted into the job in the 20th century.

O'Bryant won because he developed an effective organization, which managed to pull out more voters in the black wards percentage-wise than in the white wards for the first time. He was also quietly aided by Mayor White's machine.

O'Bryant is a career teacher who insists that the real education issue in Boston is its generally poor quality. He says that he will defend black interest, a novelty in Boston. "The Boston School Committee will never be the same," he told his victory rally after his election.

More than that, Boston politics will never be the same. The defeat of Hicks and the others who exploited race for their own gain over the past decade marks a definite end to their power and influence. The anti-busing movement has disintegrated; integration is proceeding peacefully; and blacks have acquired a political knack that hasn't been seen before in Boston. The city may begin trying to live up to its national image now. ■

Sidney Blumenthal writes for Boston's *Real Paper*.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Jury to decide if group is a tribe

By Judy Polumbaum
MASHPEE, MASS.—For more than 200 years Mashpee was a reservation for Christianized Cape Cod Indians. In 1870 it was incorporated as an ordinary Massachusetts town, although most residents claimed descent from Indians rather than Pilgrims. In 1970, for its centennial, the town hung up three large wooden signs welcoming visitors to the "Land of the Wampanoag."

Seven years later the signs are still here but the message is in dispute. The local Wampanoag Indians are suing to recover some 13,000 acres of land they say was taken from them in violation of a federal law designed to protect Indians from unscrupulous land-grabbers—the Indian Nonintercourse Act of 1790, which prohibits transfer or sale of tribal territory without congressional approval.

It is commonly acknowledged that land was taken by force and fraud from the Indians and in recent years more than 150 tribes have turned to the courts to regain what their ancestors lost.

The Mashpee lawsuit is one of a dozen filed by eastern tribes on the basis of the 1790 law. The largest involves the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot of Maine, who claim 12.5 million of the state's 20 million acres. The Cayuga, Oneida and Mohawk Nations in New York, the Catawba in South Carolina and the Narragansett in Rhode Island also have claims ranging from 3,200 to 246,000 acres.

Real estate vs. cultural survival.

The Mashpee case is a face-off between real estate interests and the Indians' effort to ensure their economic and cultural survival. Mashpee was the last town on Cape Cod to be discovered by developers, who began to carve private roads through the scrub oak and pine woods in the early 1960s to pave the way for luxury homes, condominiums, country clubs and golf courses. They razed Indian hunting grounds and fenced off beaches where Indians had dug clams and fished for centuries.

The population of Mashpee 15 years ago was about 500—mostly Indians who had intermarried with Cape Verde Island-

ers, Portuguese and a few Yankees. Today there are about 3,000 permanent residents and another 2,000 summer inhabitants. Newcomers outnumber Indians 10 to one.

The lawsuit, filed in August 1976, has frozen all real estate dealings in the town. Every title is clouded, no loans or mortgages are available, and anyone trying to sell a home must find a buyer who will pay cash and risk it. The suit was amended this year to exclude homeowners' property, but a recent effort in Washington definitively to clear homeowners' titles fell through.

The land the Indians claim is mainly undeveloped woods interspersed with marshes and cranberry bogs—but does include three golf courses.

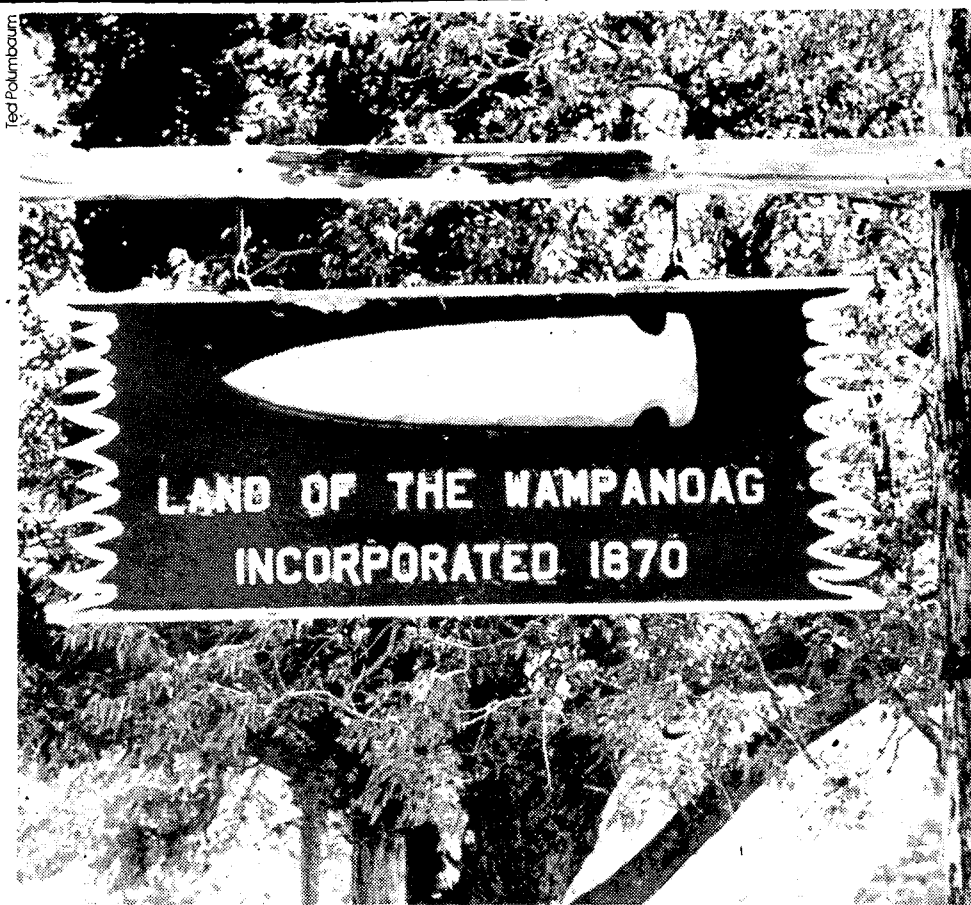
Since the Wampanoag have no treaty with the federal government or other form of official federal recognition, they must first convince a jury that they are indeed a tribe and therefore protected by the 1790 law. This phase of the case opened Oct. 17 in Boston's federal district court.

Judge Walter Jay Skinner explained to the 12 jurors and two alternates that, "This is a partial trial, to determine the status of the plaintiff as an Indian tribe. The rest of the case depends on how this part of the case comes out." If the Mashpee Wampanoag are found to be a tribe after an anticipated two months of testimony, the subsequent litigation could drag on for five to 10 years.

Two interpretations of history.

Boston lawyer Lawrence Shubow, his associate Anne Gilmore and three attorneys from the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) represent the Indians. NARF, which opened in Colorado six years ago with 10 cases and today handles about 400 in 40 states, is footing the bill.

Mashpee selectmen have committed about \$200,000 in town funds to fight back. (The defense effort is hurried by one group of residents, the Mashpee Action Committee, which opposes any "surrender" to the Indians; and be-moaned by another group, the moderate Mashpee Coalition for Negotiation.)



In 1970, for its centennial, Mashpee put up three signs welcoming visitors to the "Land of the Wampanoag." The Wampanoag now want their land back.

James St. Clair, best known for his role as counsel to President Nixon during the final days, speaks for the Town of Mashpee; seven of his colleagues represent various private interests, including New Seabury, a developer, and Makepeace, a cranberry concern.

Opening statements by Shubow and St. Clair indicated the trial would be an excursion into two contradictory interpretations of Mashpee history. Shubow said the plaintiff, the Wampanoag tribe, has been "a continuous Indian community for over 300 years." He said that ancestry and kinship, cultural tradition, internal organization and leadership, closeness to the land and Indian "consciousness" qualify the plaintiff as a tribe.

St. Clair said the Wampanoag demonstrated "none of the emoluments of a formal state or government or tribe." He said that after the American Revolution, when Indian war widows married non-Indians, Mashpee became populated by blacks and mulattos; and that Indian identification was "of recent resurrection."

St. Clair said, "This is a community, but not a tribe, no more than the Italians of the North End, the Irish of South Boston or the Jewish of Brookline are a tribe."

Experts come in pairs.

Both sides are presenting deeds, censuses,

letters and other documents as evidence; both are calling historians, anthropologists and sociologists as well as Mashpee residents to the witness stand.

Witnesses from Mashpee have treated the jury to descriptions of Indian customs, and shared folktales and native recipes. Reminiscing about growing up as an Indian boy, fisherman Vernon Pocknett said, "I remember that my father once threw me in the snow bare-naked!" and explained that the purpose was to toughen him up to the elements. Ramona Peters related the tale of "Marship"—an Indian rendition of the Moby Dick story. Salena Coombs revealed how to cook Indian stews like "potato bargain" and "eel stifle."

After both sides have made their presentations and closing arguments, the jury will determine whether the Mashpee Wampanoag constitute a tribe, defined in a 1901 U.S. Supreme Court opinion as "A body of Indians of the same or a similar race, united in a community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular, though sometimes ill-defined, territory." If the Indians win their case, other towns may be discouraged from fighting lawsuits as vehemently as the town of Mashpee.

Judy Polumbaum is a free-lance writer in Lincoln, Mass.

LABOR

Housekeepers move to unionize

By Carol Polsky
NEW YORK—After a two week strike, over 200 black and Latina housekeepers here forced the Morrisania Community Corporation, a poverty program community corporation, to agree to a consent election for a union. If the win their election, they will be the first housekeepers in New York State, possibly in the nation, to unionize.

The union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 854, organized 200 housekeepers at another anti-poverty community corporation here in June, but lost a representational election.

The Morrisania housekeepers, like millions of others nationwide, work for near minimum wages and benefits, and without legal protections taken for granted by other workers.

The laws affecting household workers deny them the protection granted commercial and industrial workers, even though many household workers are now employed by contract cleaning firms, domestic service agencies and vendors like the community corporation.

In New York State, these laws are beginning to change. In recent years, DSOC member and State Assemblyman Seymour (D-Bronx) has sponsored laws that

extend minimum wage law coverage and the right to organize to household workers employed by third parties.

Until now, organizing workers scattered in separate workplaces, earning low wages and with low status, inspired little interest. But unions are discovering that hundreds of housekeepers working for a single employer, such as Morrisania, can be contracted with relative ease and that they are ripe for organization.

The response, an organizer told **IN THESE TIMES**, "has been really enthusiastic."

The Teamsters were called in by employees at Morrisania and at Social Concern, Inc., the two community corporations, and in each case signed a large majority of the housekeepers within a few weeks.

The two community corporations are among 23 non-profit organizations with housekeeping vendor programs under contract with the City of New York to service poor, usually elderly clients. The City's Department of Social Services assigns clients to the vendors, which get Medicaid payments averaging \$4 per hour.

But housekeepers earn only \$2.50 to \$2.80 an hour, have no medical or pension plan, and no lunch break. They must

pay carfare when they travel between the homes of the two clients they service each day.

Housekeepers strike.

After the corporation board made no response to union requests for a meeting, the women struck Morrisania Oct. 24 and mounted daily picket lines and periodic sit-ins. At National Labor Relations Board hearings, lawyers for the corporation attempted to forestall an election but the housekeepers took over the corporation offices off Nov. 2, the night of the monthly board meeting, and addressed the full board for the first time. Incredibly, most board members knew nothing about the strike or the union bid until they "walked in and found all these women here."

A long angry meeting followed with the housekeepers and their supporters waiting in the hall. Board members attacked their chairman for withholding information about the strike and the housekeepers' demands, and the meeting ended with a large majority voting to agree to a consent election.

A board member said later, "There's definitely an accountability factor. Most of the board comes from the community.



While most sympathize with the demands, they also didn't want to face a lot of angry community women."

Potential for long delays still exists, because the bargaining unit has yet to be worked out between the board and the union. Most housekeepers work between 16 and 30 hours a week. The Board and its lawyers will probably push for the smallest possible unit by demanding that a high number of work hours be made the criteria for unit eligibility.

The organizing drives are just beginning. But the women who walked the picket lines around Morrisania are taking the first steps toward organized power for millions of this country's most neglected workers.



Left: Speaking before a meeting of tribes a spiritual leader emphasizes the oneness of all people with each other and the land.



Right: The two medals received by Chief Magesi in 1853 are held by Charles Ackley, a member of the tribal council and son of the late Chief Willard Ackley. These medals establish the government's recognition of the Mole Lake or Sokaogon Chippewa as a separate and distinct tribal unit. See Chippewa story below.

ENVIRONMENT

Dairy state threatened by metal mining

Many former mining areas are still suffering damage from the 1900-1920 mining boom.

By Al Gedicks
Pacific News Service

CRANDON, WISC.—The small farm towns and lake-studded forests and fields of the Upper Great Lakes, dotted by ghost towns of bygone boom times, have been reawakened by signs that the area may boom once again as one of America's richest natural resource regions. The excitement has been sparked by extensive mineral explorations now being conducted by more than 40 major corporations, including Exxon, Kennecott and International Nickel. They are fiercely competing for millions of dollars worth of mineral rights to land believed to contain some of the world's richest deposits of copper, nickel, lead, chromite, zinc, vanadium and uranium.

But while mineral company executives, local bankers and labor officials hail the developments as a return to the good old days, local farmers and dairymen, Indians, sportsmen and others are predicting a new boom-and-bust Appalachia—poisoned, barren and poor.

They fear the short-term gains of massive ore-mining here will mean the end for the area's extensive and long-term agriculture, dairy farming, forestry, fishing and tourism.

Exxon discovery.

Exxon's recent discovery of a "significant" copper-zinc deposit near Crandon, Wisc., is believed by some to be the largest in the world. Jack B. Jacks, a regional geologist with the U.S. Forest Service, speculates the lode may exceed 125 million tons.

Exxon official Paul Jason disputes that figure, but says the company now estimates that there are some 75 million tons of high-sulfide zinc, copper, silver, gold and lead—and exploratory drilling is still in progress, going deeper every day.

But despite the euphoria at Exxon and other companies—and among state and local officials eyeing tax dollars—opposition to the development is mounting.

"If the mining companies go ahead it's going to ruin this part of the country

for dairy farmers," says Louis Havluj Jr., a longtime dairy farmer in Rusk County, Wisc., site of a proposed Kennecott open-pit copper mine.

"They've been surveying and getting land all around this and surrounding counties. They're going to gobble up land all over northern Wisconsin and ruin farming completely."

"All you have after the mines close down," says Havluj, "is piles of rubble and junk. Acid wastes will drain into the rivers, subsoils and wells. Once that happens, we're through. Not even rabbits will want to live here."

Havluj was one of many small farmers who spoke out against the mining operations last November and persuaded the county supervisors to deny a zoning change that would have allowed Kennecott to proceed.

Boom once before.

Some longtime residents remember the last mining boom in northern Wisconsin and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. It peaked around 1920, when there were more than 150 mines working three ranges.

When the mining companies found it more profitable to switch operations to

South America around 1950, massive unemployment and a proliferation of ghost towns followed. Unemployment still runs two to three times the national average in the area, and some 30 percent of all families earn less than \$3,000 a year.

Many former mining communities are still suffering environmental damage from the mining techniques of the period. Iron River, Mich., for instance, is faced with cleaning up the acid wastes from a local mine, which are polluting the city's water supply and eating away its sewer system.

Modern, state-of-the-art exploration techniques have brought the companies back to the area to locate the minerals long believed to underlie the area.

The real potential of mineral extraction in the area remains one of the industry's best-kept secrets. When Kennecott discovered a huge copper deposit in Rusk County nine years ago, industry sources claimed it was an isolated deposit.

But since then at least four other corporations have laid plans for mining operations in Wisconsin alone. And John Rigg of the Interior department's Metal Mining Division has predicted that northern Wisconsin and northeastern Minnesota may become the largest copper-nickel producing region in North America.

Land or ore.

At the same time, the small citizens' action group that banded together to delay the Kennecott mine in Rusk County last year is spreading to other communities.

Says organizer Roscoe Churchill, a 60-year-old school principal and small farmer, "If this mad destruction of agricultural lands does not end soon, in a short time there will not be enough land to produce food for the people."

The takeover of farmland also threatens the loss of agricultural jobs, which some critics believe will not be equalled by new mining jobs. Mining jobs, in addition, will last for only about 30 years—compared to displaced farming and tourism employment, which lasts for many generations.

Exxon is also facing opposition from the Mole Lake Chippewa tribe, whose reservation is just a mile from the company's huge copper-zinc discovery.

The tribe contends, among other things, that the mine will contaminate nearby Rice Lake and destroy their annual wild rice harvest, a major source of their income and food.

Al Gedicks is a Wisconsin journalist and film producer who has written extensively on mining in the Great Lakes area.

Exxon invades Chippewa territory

By Paul Sequeira

Less than a mile from the site of an Exxon discovery of what may be one of the world's largest zinc and copper sulphide deposits lies the Sokaogon Chippewa reservation. Its 1,900 acres include a portion of Swamp Creek and all of Rice Lake, both of which abound in wild rice, a basic economic and dietary ingredient in Sokaogon Chippewa life even today. Swamp Creek, which feeds Rice Lake, runs just north of the main lode of ore claimed by Exxon.

The Indians, however, also have claims for the land that Exxon wants to mine. The Sokaogon Chippewa, also known as the Mole Lake, Post Lake or Lost Band Chippewa, were excluded from the Treaty of 1854 by which the tribes of the Great Lakes region ceded their ancestral lands to the federal government for reservations. At that time they were lumped together with the Lac de Flambeau Chippewa.

But tribal leaders claim that shortly after those treaties were signed a govern-

ment agent was sent out to survey a reservation site for the Post Lake Chippewa. The reservation included the piece of swampy, wooded area one mile northeast (and uphill) from the present reservation that Exxon wants to mine. This would have given the Indians control over the immediate water source for Rice Lake.

Through an unfortunate set of circumstances, written copies of this treaty have disappeared—the Indian copy was lost on a hunting trip shortly after the signing and the government agent's copy was lost when the agent was reportedly killed en route to Washington. The tribe's contention that it existed, however, is supported by documented testimony around the turn of the century. The tribe also has custody of two medals, dated 1853, given to the tribe in recognition of the treaty.

Apart from the land claim, the tribe opposes Exxon's mining plans for fear of the effects on local water and life-support systems.

An application to mine hasn't been filed by Exxon yet, nor has a required environmental impact report been demanded by the state. But Exxon is already driving prospecting shafts over 2,000 feet down, probing the dimensions of the ore. The Indians worry that sulphide compounds brought up by the shaft, when exposed to sunlight and water, will yield sulphuric acid that could seep into local water systems.

Exxon argues this can be prevented and is using a sealing compound on the outer casing of each of the dozens of probes it has planned to prevent the seepage of water and minerals from lower levels into strata nearer the surface. Nonetheless, a great deal of effluent, mostly water, has already been brought to the top in the prospecting operation and is stored in surface ponds to allow possible contaminants to settle out before it is to be pumped back underground.

Paul Sequeira is a Chicago-based writer and photographer.

FARMING

Tobacco subsidies under fire

By Michael Kirkhorn
Pacific News Service

LEXINGTON, KY.—A heated controversy over continued federal price supports for the tobacco industry has heightened into a war of powerful and persuasive lobbyists on both sides—including two Cabinet departments pitted against each other.

As of Aug. 31 this year, government loans for tobacco supports equalled \$664 million—nearly \$200 million more than the previous year.

Opponents of these price supports are insisting that the government justify the morality of programs contributing to the prosperity of a "death-dealing" industry that sold Americans 626.7 billion cigarettes last year. Tobacco's defenders, on the other hand, are rolling out the formidable economic arguments that have beaten back other challenges to the 44-year-old tobacco support system.

Joseph A. Califano Jr., Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), said recently that the government should not employ price supports to "make it less expensive for people to buy something that's going to give them emphysema, lung cancer or heart disease."

The Department of Agriculture, however, disagrees, and President Carter has been noncommittal. But HEW apparently is studying ways to launch Califano's promised "strong anti-smoking campaign."

The campaign will have to be persuasive to undercut support for an industry that protects itself with facts like these:

- Last year federal, state and local governments collected more than \$6 billion in revenues from tobacco purchases; more than 98 percent of that amount came from taxes on the sale of cigarettes.

- Tobacco provided \$2.3 billion in farm income last year; North Carolina alone earned \$999 million from tobacco in 1976, Kentucky \$482 million; as many as 650,000 farmers (nobody is certain of the exact number) depend on tobacco, the "debt paying crop," as a source of cash, for many their only source.

- No other crop yields nearly as much money as tobacco.

A Kentucky farmer with a one-acre patch of well-kept burley can earn as much as \$3,000 at harvest time for his small crop. There is little doubt that without a crop of equal profitability, many farmers—especially those working small farms in the South and Southeast—would have to go out of business if federal price supports were eliminated and tobacco income dropped drastically.

Drain on the treasury.

But now the opponents of price supports have an economic weapon of their own—the growing drain on the federal treasury from the accumulation of tobacco surpluses in already bulging Department of Agriculture-financed storehouses.

Last year the Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corporation bought, in accord with price support policy, the 6.7 percent of the tobacco crop that did not sell at support levels. This tobacco, much of it dirty or of inferior grade, was added to an already heavy surplus.

As a result, a recent editorial in *Tobacco Reporter* said tobacco was an "industry under siege," in danger of losing government subsidies because of the accumulation of costly surpluses that might never be sold to manufacturers.

Since 1933—the year tobacco was designated a basic commodity—federal supports have been used to increase tobacco farmers' income and even to cut market fluctuations by controlling the amount of tobacco grown and marketed. Farmers are allowed to grow only a certain

There is little doubt that without a crop of equal profitability, many small farmers, particularly in the South and Southeast, would have to go out of business if federal supports were removed.

amount of tobacco; in return they are assured high prices—\$117.30 for a hundred pounds of burley this year, \$2.19 more than in 1976.

If it weren't for the connection between smoking and a variety of illnesses, the federal price support system for tobacco could be considered to have been remarkably successful.

Kentucky farmers, for example, raised 434.4 million pounds of burley in 1975, only 10 million more pounds than in 1946. Yet the 1975 crop was sold for \$463.8 million, while the 1946 crop was sold for only \$169.4 million.

Neither side knows exactly what consequences might follow the abolishing of tobacco price supports.

Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), an organization in Washington, D.C., which has been objecting to tobacco supports for ten years, argues that once controls were eliminated, the government could offer loans and other inducements to persuade farmers to raise "more acceptable crops," weakening the power of the "tobacco barons and their pawns in Congress."

Production will continue regardless.

William Kloefer, of the Tobacco Institute, which represents manufacturers in Washington, argues that those who object to smoking should be in favor of price supports.

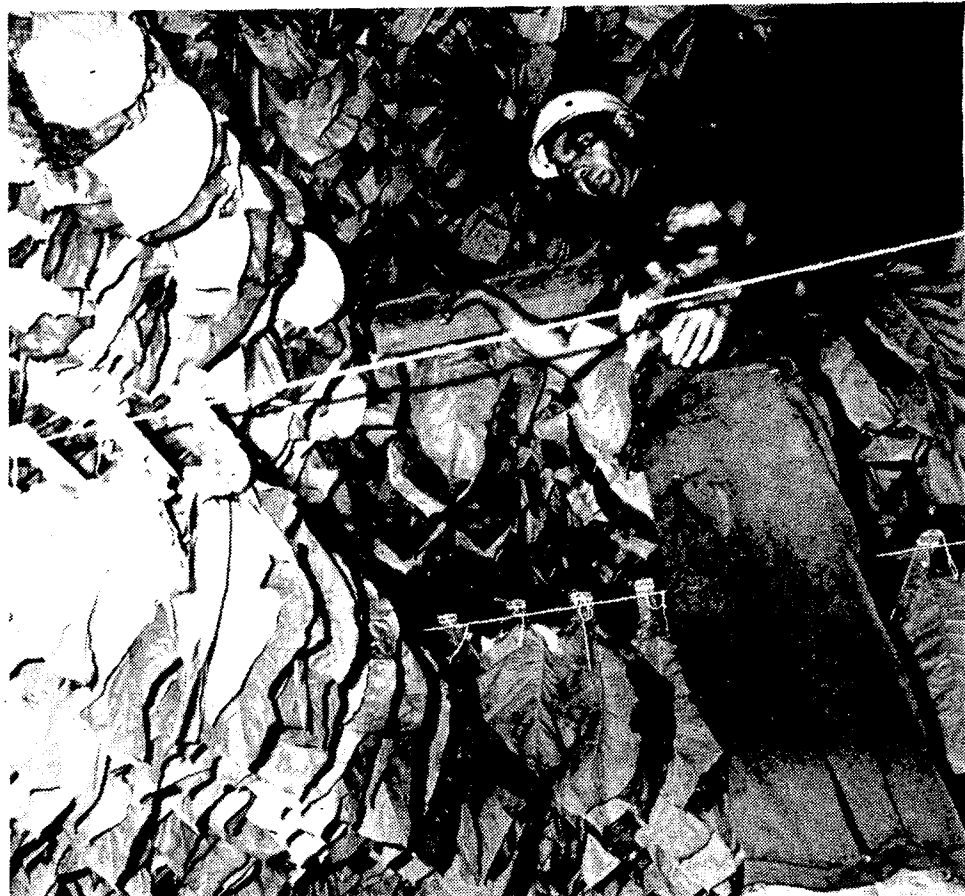
"Voluntary participation [by farmers in the price support program] reduces tobacco production," Kloefer says. "A surfeit of tobacco would reduce prices and make tobacco more available. A lot more tobacco would be on the market if everybody could grow it in their backyards."

Most experts agree that if price supports were eliminated, tobacco prices would drop and small farmers might grow more tobacco to maintain their income from the crop. But then, as one congressional expert speculates, large growers might begin planting great tracts further west, and as they mechanized tobacco farming to cut labor costs, the smaller farmers back east would lose out.

In any case, abolishing federal price supports would not abolish tobacco: it would still be grown.

The anti-smoking forces believe decisive action is necessary. So far, government attempts to reduce smoking have had mixed results. While many adult males have stopped smoking cigarettes, the industry has attracted new smokers—including young women who now are smoking at a much higher rate.

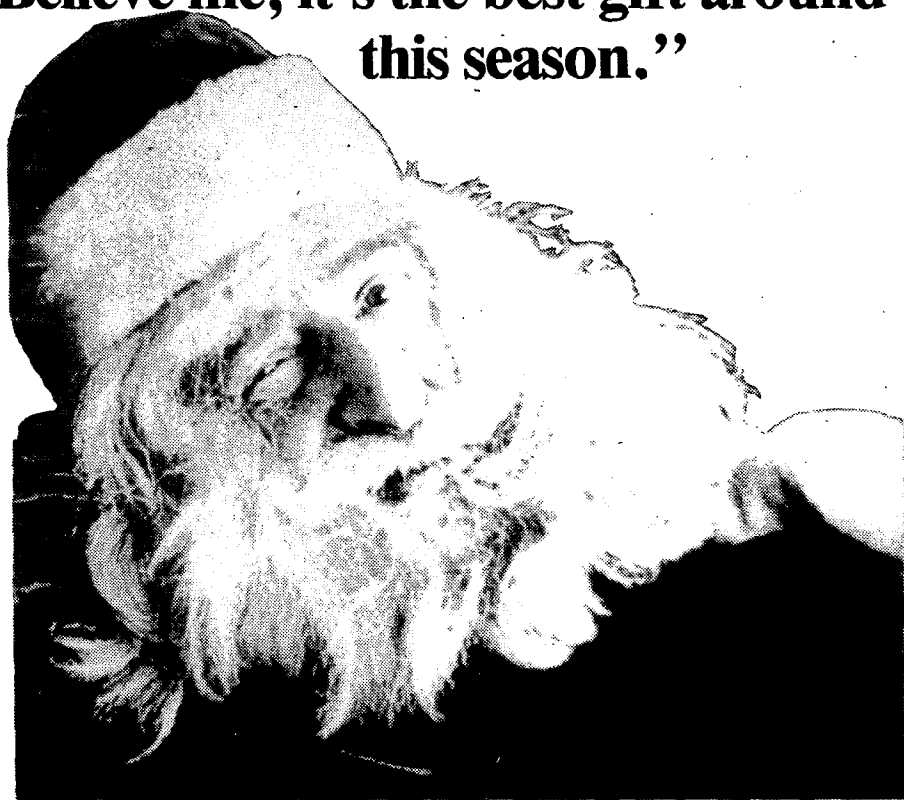
Cigarette production reached 555.1 billion in 1971 and 610 billion in 1974. Per capita cigarette consumption for all American adults was 4,110 in 1976, lower than the record of 4,345 in 1963, but higher than the average of 3,985 in 1970. ■ *Michael Kirkhorn, former reporter for the Chicago Tribune and Milwaukee Journal, now teaches journalism at the University of Kentucky.*



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IN THE WORLD

MIDDLE EAST

Mr. Sadat comes to Jerusalem

Had the Begin regime known that Sadat would accept their invitation, they might not have invited him. Now Begin is on the spot: he must now show that he is willing to promote peace.

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM—In explaining his dramatic decision to seek peace by going to Jerusalem, Egyptian President Mohammed Anwar Al-Sadat explained that "70 percent of the problem is psychological." The 45-minute flight from Isma'iliya to Lod was indeed a giant step towards breaking down massive psychological barriers erected—on both sides—since Israel's creation in 1948. But following Sadat's and Prime Minister Begin's speeches before the Israeli parliament, it is clear that the remaining substance is much more than a mere 30 percent. For the Middle East conflict, perhaps the laws of arithmetic must be stretched.

President Sadat's speech was impressive, but its substance was the same as what he has been saying for some time now, more clearly than any Arab leader: the main Arab parties are willing to welcome Israel into the Middle East, to end completely the state of war, if—and only if—the territories occupied in 1967 are returned to Egypt and Syria, and a Palestinian state is established in the West Bank and Gaza strip. Sadat especially emphasized his longing for peace and for Israel's well-being, greeted the Israeli peace forces, and did not mention the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) by name. The omission perhaps reflected uncertainty about the PLO's support of Egypt's



Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Anwar Sadat at press conference in Jerusalem Nov. 21.

Wide World

peace campaign, hinting that at least a formal alternative might be found for negotiations. Sadat was also surely anxious not to provoke his hosts unnecessarily.

Begin's reply did not include mention of the PLO either. He did not restate Israel's total opposition to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

But he did stress the Jewish people's "right" to the "land of Israel" (which to him, includes the West Bank).

Begin described the destruction of European Jewry in World War II and dwelt on prior Arab wars against Israel. The Israeli leader's only concrete suggestion was that unconditional negotiations

should begin, also nothing new.

A tremendous gap still exists between the two leaders' stated positions. Even if they and the other parties do actually begin to talk at Geneva, someone is going to have to do a lot of pushing and pulling to arrive at a settlement.

Continued on page 18.

Syria and PLO blast Sadat initiative

By Carole Collins

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's three-day visit to Israel and his address before the Israeli Knesset hit the Arab world like a bombshell. Although several Arab commentators have noted that Sadat's astounding diplomatic concession (recognition of the Israeli state) throws the onus on Menachem Begin's government to make comparable concessions, Arab reaction has mostly been outrage at an initiative that has fragmented the common negotiating front of the Arab states.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) believes Sadat has betrayed their cause by sacrificing the essence of the Palestinian stance—non-recognition of the legitimacy of the Israeli state, whose existence was based on a massive uprooting of the Palestinian people. A particularly bitter pill was Sadat's failure to mention the PLO by name in his Knesset speech. Several Arab sources saw this as a significant concession to the U.S. and Israel, neither of which recognizes the umbrella guerrilla group.

The PLO has initiated a series of meetings of its Central Council in Damascus to plan a strategy for consolidating a unified position among and with the five Arab countries that have condemned Sadat's visit: Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Libya and Southern Yemen.

Syrian Ambassador Mowaffak Allaf

told the United Nations General Assembly Nov. 22, "As a result of this diversionary tragicomedy, the Middle East has become a theater of the absurd. We are so confused that we are no longer able to tell an ally from an enemy. We don't know whether we should weep or laugh feel shame or pity." As Allaf spoke, the Egyptian ambassador walked out of the assembly hall in protest, the first time an Arab delegate protested another Arab delegate's speech in the history of the UN.

Perhaps as significant has been the muted and equivocal response from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states that have been subsidizing the precarious Egyptian economy since the 1967 war. Although Saudi Arabia expressed strong reservations and serious concern about the implications of the visit, they have not denounced Sadat's recognition of Israel's legitimacy.

Sadat has received support most notably from Jordan, Oman, Morocco and Sudan (Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiry even went so far as to call Sadat's trip a big victory), all considered to be conservative forces aligned increasingly with Saudi and other reactionary forces in the Mideast.

In a shambles.

Sadat has been acting within the framework of the Vance/Dayan working paper, hammered out about a month ago. It pro-

posed procedures for a re-convened Geneva conference that would allow Israel to have bilateral negotiations with bordering Arab states (Jordan, Syria and Egypt) but only multilateral "discussions" on the question of Palestinian rights.

Syria and the PLO both want a unified Arab delegation with one negotiating strategy, something they tried to achieve at the Foreign Ministers' meeting a few weeks ago. Indeed, several sources speculate that Sadat's announcement of his willingness to go to Israel was made precisely to undermine this trend at the Foreign Ministers' meeting. (It was made on the very day of heavy Israeli raids into Lebanon.)

Sadat, it is speculated, was trying to pressure Syria and the PLO to make concessions on procedures so that Geneva would be more likely to occur and not founder on Israeli intransigence. That would leave Egypt with no change in its situation. The limits of Sadat's room for maneuver on this is his dependence on Arab funds for Egypt's survival. Although the Sadat government would probably be happy with a bilateral agreement with Israel, Saudi Arabia and the U.S. want nothing less than a full settlement of all outstanding issues, including Palestinian rights. Anything less would be destabilizing.

Sadat's move has left Arab strategy in shambles, with the PLO and Syria trying to consolidate a new unified front against

Egypt (difficult because of Egypt's paramount position and size in the Mideast). Sadat, in turn, must come up with some concrete concessions from the Begin government to match his diplomatic concession in recognizing Israel.

In the short run, Sadat has made it more difficult for Israel to launch another pre-emptive attack, but this could backfire and the probability of war increase without substantial concessions from the Israeli government. As one Arab commentator put it, "I will believe that when I see it."

The most bitter perspective, of course, is reflected by the Palestinians. As one said, "Can you imagine a Samora Machel, a Kaunda, flying to Salisbury and speaking before the all-white Parliament, reassuring them of their right to maintain white rule, to only make a few cosmetic changes and grant a 'mini-state' bantustan to the African population?"

The Israeli Communist party member who interrupted Begin's Knesset speech posed the question as Palestinians see it. After Begin had expressed his willingness to make peace with the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Jordanians and Lebanese, the member shouted: "And the Palestinians? Are you willing to make peace with the Palestinians?" Begin did not mention the Palestinians once in his whole speech. ■

Carole Collins has worked with MERIP.

GREAT BRITAIN

A manic-depressive British economy

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON—A POLITICAL COMMENTATOR HAS JUST compared the state of the British economy to that of a manic-depressive, and there's truth in the remark. A depressive winter may well lie ahead of us, and I hope IN THESE TIMES readers will bear in mind that emotion will exaggerate realities. First, however, to summarize the manic phase of the summer and early fall.

Over that period, the inherent ailments of the economy have been exactly what they were before. Growth is zero, productivity is poor, the export effort is feeble. Nevertheless...

The unexpectedly rapid output of North Sea oil—meeting one-third of our needs this year and likely to meet total needs in 1979—has cast a rosy glow over financial prospects.

The inflation rate has been slowed, though not so much as the government promised. There has even been a slight reduction in unemployment, but this may well prove temporary.

Foreign money has been pouring into Britain. This trend is the most irrational of all, especially since our interest rates (which supposedly attract speculative money) have been re-

duced. Bond-holders, who were behaving last spring like hotel guests panicked by a fire, abruptly wheeled round and started to behave like holiday crowds heading for the beaches. Foreign deposits, from a low of \$1.5 billion, have zoomed to \$10 billion.

The pound, which had seemed doomed to an inexorable fall, started to rise—so much so that the Bank of England, which sees a low parity as helpful to exports and tourism, tried to hold it down. When this bank policy was relaxed, the pound shot up six cents in a day to reach \$1.85. (The low in early 1977 had been \$1.60.)

Small businesses have been helped by reductions in domestic interest rates; home-buyers by cheaper mortgages; and wage and salary earners—especially those on fat salaries—by tax cuts.

No need for an election.

Despite the return to free collective bargaining and the unions' declared refusal to be bound by the government's 10 percent ceiling on wage increases, there were no early signs of big wage demands. Leyland auto workers voted to accept the wage structure sought by management; Ford workers voted to accept modest raises (these averaged 13 percent and thus exceeded the government limit, but not much was said about that.) Even the policemen, whose demands for a massive raise had been eagerly sponsored by the Tories as an issue likely to embarrass the government, settled for 10 percent and a subsequent inquiry into their grievances.

In this climate, Callaghan's government—on the verge of collapse in March—looked more solid every week. The pact with the Liberal party ensured a Commons majority, put a brake on such "socialist" plans as had been contemplated, and made Margaret Thatcher's

warnings of Bolshevik horrors sound increasingly hollow. Among unattached voters, approval grew. "I see no need for an election," Callaghan told the Commons calmly on Nov. 3. Commentators inclined to the view that when he does see the need, he can win it. In March the Tories had a 23 percent lead in opinion polls; by October Labour and Tories were neck-and-neck.

Thus, the Commons reassembled on Nov. 3 to hear a Queen's Speech—the traditional vehicle for an announcement of government policy—which exuded bland confidence. Parliament will be occupied mainly in putting through the devolution plans for Scotland and Wales, and the pact with the Liberals appears to guarantee the necessary majority. Other proposals in the speech (such as aid to decaying city centers, and interest-free loans to home-buyers to start them on a mortgage) will arouse little or no contention.

Yet, at this happy moment, cause for alarm had suddenly arisen. On Nov. 1 the miners had voted to embark on a challenge to the government's wages policy.

Miners reject agreement.

Back in July, the National Union of Mine-workers' conference had carried a resolution mandating the executive to press for wage rates almost double those now in force. The executive majority, headed by president Joe Gormley, disliked this instruction and—to the fury of the left-wingers—sidetracked it by coming to terms with the National Coal Board on a productivity scheme, which would have meant higher earnings only when validated by output.

In the NUM, which is a democratic union, such agreements have to be confirmed by ballot. The jump in earnings would in



fact have been substantial for most miners, so observers agreed in predicting a majority in favor. However, the scale was turned by the miners' firm objection to schemes which encourage greater effort at possible risk to health and safety, and promote disparities between one pit and another. The agreement was rejected by 110,000 votes to 87,000.

Gormley and the whole executive now agree that the original wage demand must be pressed. True, there is room for negotiation and something less than the full claim would be acceptable. But a mere 10 percent increase would be seen as utterly inadequate, and Gormley has promptly said that he wouldn't try to sell it to the miners.

The course of events now envisaged is an inadequate offer by the board; a rejection by the NUM; recommendation of a strike or at least an overtime ban (this alone has drastic effects); and a ballot on the strike or overtime ban, which under NUM rules must win a 55 percent majority to be put into effect.

If the miners do win a big raise, by strike action or by advance concession, three consequences are on the cards. Pressure for similar increases by other groups of workers could become irresistible, wrecking the whole 10 percent policy. Since the government is pledged not to finance an "excessive" pay increase, it would be passed on to the consumer in higher prices for coal and electricity, giving a thrust to inflation. And the Liberals could denounce the pact, bringing about the fall of the government and an immediate election. Liberal leader David Steel has greeted the news of the ballot with a warning that he expects the government to take a firm stand "against the small minority who wish to press their selfish demands."

Atmosphere darkens.

It's hard to believe that a resourceful politician like Callaghan will land himself helplessly in the kind of showdown that destroyed the Heath government in 1974. What plans he has to avert it, we shall see in coming weeks.

His most obvious strategy is to mount a persuasion campaign with hopes that 55 percent of miners won't vote for a strike. The miners' rooted loyalty to the Labour party is a strong card in his hand.

In 1974, the prospect that a strike would imperil a Tory government didn't worry them and indeed spurred them on. Bringing about the fall of a Labour government is another matter.

Callaghan's initial statement was certainly on "firm stand" lines. While disclaiming any wish for confrontation, he repeated his faith in the 10 percent ceiling and said: "It would not be right for any group to secure advantages through strength which others are ready and willing to forego."

Symbolically and also literally, the atmosphere darkened while he spoke. Power station workers (at the behest of a rank-and-file committee not backed by their union) are reducing output to win higher shift pay. Homes and streets are being plunged into darkness for three-hour periods. London traffic, impeded in any case by diversions caused by the Queen's procession to Parliament in her horse-drawn coach, was thrown into chaos when traffic lights went out.

It's a preview of what would happen in a miners' strike. Depression is in the wings. Candles have already become almost unobtainable or are fetching fancy prices. IN THESE TIMES' London correspondent, luckily, still has several boxes of candles left over from the 1974 strike. ■

JAMAICA

Assassination attempt on Jamaican left leader

Havana radio reported Nov. 14 that there have been two conspiracy attempts by Jamaican rightists and the Central Intelligence Agency against the life of former Secretary General of the ruling People's National Party of Jamaica, Dr. D. J. Duncan. An official communique by Michael Manley revealed that Duncan was targeted for assassination by arsenic poisoning.

The communique describes the results of a meeting between Prime Minister Manley, Foreign Minister Patterson, National Security Minister Munn, PNP Sec. Gen. Ralph Brown and Duncan himself. "I have learned with shock and horror

about the unequivocal medical evidence that has shed light on the attempt to poison Duncan with arsenic," said Manley.

The epidemiological investigation, which was conducted along with various analyses and tests of Duncan's urine samples by specialized laboratories reportedly established that poisoning occurred at the beginning of July and the middle of October.

According to Manley, "This outrage appears to be yet another indication of the desperate lengths to which the reactionary forces will go in their attempt to stop progressive change in Jamaica."

—John Judis



Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley with Cuban President Fidel Castro during National Hero Day in Jamaica, Oct. 18.

IRAN

Demonstrators upstage Shah's visit

By Linda Heiden
WASHINGTON, D.C. Planned as a major public relations strategy and consultation session, the Shah of Iran's visit to the U.S. earlier this month may have endangered the long-range stability of his regime.

The Shah and his entourage were greeted in Washington by three days of demonstrations and violent confrontations that left more than 110 people hospitalized, one in critical condition. But although host Carter apologized to his guests, responsibility for the clashes lies with the Shah's regime.

Weeks before the visit, agents of the Iranian secret police SAVAK approached thousands of Iranians and others who might pass as Iranians from around the U.S., offering them an all-expense-paid three-day vacation in Washington in return for an appearance at any of eight planned pro-Shah rallies (see *ITT*, Nov. 8). An embassy spokesperson predicted that 150,000 Shah supporters would turn out for the occasion, but only about 3,000 participated in the welcome rallies at their peak Tuesday morning.

Screaming, running mass.

Of these, at least 30 percent were Americans, many of whom knew nothing about Iran. One woman said she didn't even know where the country was until her hosts pointed it out to her on a map. "They offered me a free vacation, so I figured, 'Why not come?'" she explained.

She got her answer moments later when a band of young Iranian men, some of whom were later identified as SAVAK agents, pushed part of the crowd over the snow fence separating them from anti-Shah demonstrators. A knot of youths emerged from the crowd using the sticks that supported their "We Love Our King" placards as clubs against the Shah's opponents. Within seconds, the laughing, chanting pro-Shah demonstration dissolved into a screaming, running mass, leaving 60 to 70 of the Shah's young thugs to face more than 600 enraged opponents.

Most of those injured were uninformed, paid vacationers who got caught in the middle of the fracas, and wealthy students who had told reporters earlier that "the Iranian people need SAVAK," and that allegations of systematic torture in the regime's prisons are "bullshit communist propaganda lies." Police who tried to intervene on the part of the Shah defenders were beaten along with the others.

As pro-Shah forces turned the grounds behind the White House into an open battlefield, police and the Shah's paid supporters simultaneously attacked other anti-Shah lines on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House with tear gas and clubs. Members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA), which organized the anti-Shah demonstration, responded with tree limbs, placard sticks, and anything else they could find.

International support.

The police were caught off-guard by the intensity of the ISA counter-offensive. Asked to explain the apparent lack of police preparation, one officer said, "As intense as those people were, probably even the National Guard couldn't have stopped them." Another said he'd "never seen demonstrators, even during the Vietnam war, attack police lines with such ferocity."

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the fighting was the role played by the roughly 400 Iranian air force officers, shipped in to boost pro-Shah forces. Conspicuous because of their crew-cut hair, most stood stunned, watching the fighting. At one point, several actually came to the aid of masked ISA members under attack by American police.

Far from countering the ISA's opposition, the Shah's attempt at demonstrating support for his regime provided the student group with an opportunity to show its strength, militancy, and depth of opposition to the regime. Several hundred young Iranians studying in the U.S.



Iranians willing to counter the anti-Shah demonstrators were given expense-paid vacations to Washington (above).

have joined it in the last few weeks.

In addition, the massive publicity generated by the confrontations have gained them widespread international support. Demonstrations in solidarity with ISA's actions in Washington were held throughout Western Europe last week.

New crackdown.

"Particularly here in the U.S., this is the first time that the American people have had to deal with the fact of wide-spread, popular opposition to the Shah's regime and realize that it is their government that put it in power and maintains it in

power," explained an ISA spokesperson. The American commitments in Iran, includes an estimated 35,000 "civilian advisors" that are expected to number 60,000 by 1980.

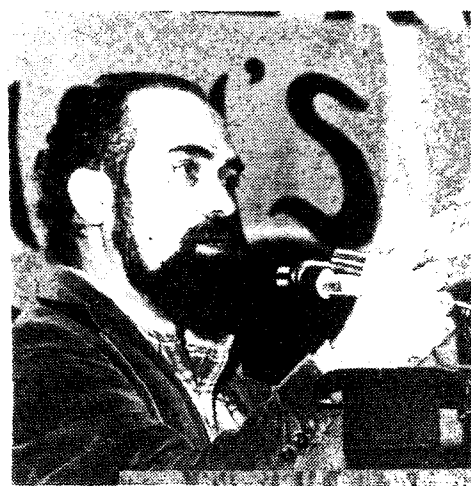
Opposition to the Shah among Iranians in the U.S. was underlined by nearly simultaneous demonstrations in Iran itself. More than 10,000 students boycotted classes at universities in Tehran, the capital, and took to the streets Nov. 16, protesting continued repression. Their protests, unprecedented in scale in recent years, have continued for a full week.

The regime has responded with a new

crackdown, this time in the form of "civilian" terror squads operating on a scale comparable to that in Argentina or Chile. Iranian newspapers controlled by the regime have implied American consent to the renewed repression. This may be true, given the escalating repression against ISA in the U.S. Nine ISA activists are scheduled for deportation hearings in Chicago last week, while at least 60 others face a variety of charges around the U.S.

Linda Heiden is a Chicago free-lance journalist who was in Washington for the demonstrations.

Iranian poet on terror and torture



Reza Baraheni

Chuck Fishman

THE CROWNED CANNIBALS: Writings on Repression in Iran

By Reza Baraheni, with an introduction by E.L. Doctorow
 Vintage, paperback \$3.95

Reza Baraheni, who has been called Iran's finest living poet and is certainly one of that country's leading literary figures, was arrested by agents of SAVAK—the Shah's secret police force—and was held for 102 days during which he was subjected to torture at the hands of men in white coats who call themselves—and require their victims to call them—"Doctors."

He was finally released through the in-

tervention of PEN, Amnesty International and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. He has found sanctuary in the United States where he earns a living for himself and his family by teaching creative writing and lecturing on literature and politics and oppression in Iran. He has also found an American publisher for his book of essays and poems, *The Crowned Cannibals*.

There is irony in this geography. For—as E.L. Doctorow observes in his introduction—"The torturers of Iran and Chile are as close to use as the child is to the parent. They are our being, born from our loins.... We made them with our Agency for International Development and with our Office of Public Safety... with our Drug Enforcement Administration and our Military Assistance Programs."

Each time Americans pay their taxes they are shelling out whopping amounts to bolster the Shah, whom they know only as the giver of a zillion-dollar celebration in silk tents set on sand dunes; a frequent White House dinner guest, and the author of a lofty bicentennial message printed in *Time*. It is time they knew more, time they understood the bitterness of the Iranian people toward the U.S. "for its unconditional support to a monarch who has terrorized an entire nation."

Baraheni has an essay devoted to Shah Pahlavi and his hideous family, which

goes far to cure our ignorance. He also includes in his book the two controversial essays that got him arrested, and three other essays of terror, torture and the relationship between censorship and literary style. He describes the sharpening contrast between the lives and values of the rich and powerful and the poor and powerless; the role of men, women and sexuality in a culture where barbaric traditions survive despite rapid technological development: the plight of over half the people of Iran, who live as oppressed nationalities deprived of self determination; and finally "Masks and Paragraphs," a collection of poems in English about Iran today.

Doctorow's introduction ends with a piercingly eloquent appeal for a "great concerted refusal to condone, assist, endorse or do business with those who practice torture," suggesting that we can put an end to the practice "at least in those states construed as our friends, that are under our influence. Surely the torture of individuals extends beyond the limit of our own barbarism, the hungers of our corporations and our own paranoid sense of security, so that we can safely say: Not this far—at least not this."

Can this finely written book by a poet "of whom we know nothing" move us to effective action? Not if we don't read it because we "have enough troubles of our own."

—Mary Belfrage

Citizens Action Program: dead before its time

Statewide organizations espousing a populist, citizen-based pressure politics aimed at immediate reforms of utilities, taxes, pollution, land use regulations, urban development plans and other visible sources of popular discontent have been rapidly spreading throughout the country.

There is not only Illinois Public Action Council, one of the newer groups (see accompanying story), but also organizations in California (such as Citizens Action League), Massachusetts (Fair Share), the Great Plains (ACORN), Virginia, Maryland, Texas and elsewhere.

At some point many of their organizers were inspired by the dramatic example of the Citizens Action Program, a Chicago metropolitan coalition founded in 1969.

The new groups are thriving, energetically expanding in most cases. But CAP is dead. Only a shell remains—a staff of door-to-door canvassers raising money for other projects.

There are lessons to be learned from CAP's history, and a few of those hard-learned discoveries are now influencing efforts to organize popular resistance to the new era of austerity and the one-two, public-private squeeze on standards of living.

Campaign Against Pollution.

CAP was founded as the Campaign Against Pollution by organizing trainees at the Industrial Areas Foundation, the training and consulting institute run by some of Saul (Rules for Radicals) Alinsky's principal associates.

This small group of organizers brought together a band of people outraged by the heavy air pollution in Chicago. They marched on the Illinois Commerce Commission to complain about smoke billowing from Commonwealth Edison power plant smokestacks. The group was rudely rebuffed, and in classic direct action fashion, CAP was organized from the reaction of officials to citizen complaints.

As it grew, particularly in a few neighborhoods where sympathetic parish priests helped to make contacts with the neighborhood, CAP tackled and won several important air pollution problems. The group's name was changed to the Citizen's Action Program when it expanded to other issues, starting with the underassessment of large industries and office buildings.

One of CAP's most dramatic and extended fights involved the "redlining" of neighborhoods by financial institutions that refused loans to areas where there was—or might be—changes in racial composition. CAP's publicity and pressure on the issue helped to make redlining a national concern. CAP also forced changes in banking policy in some neighborhoods and pushed for new laws that may slow down the process of sudden racial "resegregation" and neighborhood decline.

In its other major campaign, CAP

fought and delayed a multi-billion dollar expressway that would have displaced over 10,000 people. (A deal recently struck between the Republican governor of Illinois and the new Democratic mayor of Chicago provides for a modified portion of that expressway to be built, but the opposition CAP started continues.)

Weaknesses from beginning.

From the beginning CAP had many weaknesses. Groups like CAP need constant excitement, renewed victories, new actions and a flurry of publicity in order to maintain their momentum, but some of the bigger, more difficult issues CAP was interested in could not be resolved quickly and neatly.

While CAP could mobilize hundreds of neighborhood supporters on particularly heated issues, generally its organizing did not go very deep. Its influence rested on showmanship, public embarrassment of officials, good coverage in newspapers, radio and television and a fine sense of how to hit the jugular.

"Almost all of CAP's success was based on smoke and mirrors," original CAP co-chair Paul Booth now says. "There was almost no power—just a scruffy band of a few hundred people. They weren't ultimately interested in having power. They were into having successful fights."

The fights often involved activists in an intense, euphoric fashion, followed by a burned-out exhaustion. Yet the experiences also resulted in dramatic personal transformations of shy, self-deprecating, frustrated housewives, blue-collar workers, small businessmen and others into confident spokespeople for their community.

Organizational and personal rivalries over control of "turf," over issues or over publicity hindered the possible unity between CAP and dozens of other community groups in Chicago. And CAP never really tried to bring in many allies.

There was virtually no effort to link up with independent reform politicians or with trade unions. CAP activists individually worked in elections, and CAP pressure often affected politicians' chances in the polls, but the organization was determined not to back or run candidates.

Although CAP was far more politically sophisticated than community groups fighting for a new stop sign or better rat extermination, it often relied on a lowest common denominator politics, taking advantage of easily-triggered anger about "lazy judges" or high taxes without pushing hard to develop an alternative vision of politics.

Conflicts: organizational control.

In April 1975, when 3,000 people came to the annual CAP convention, the organization looked like a power that had finally expanded beyond its core of white,

thoroughly respectable homeowners (professionals, small businessmen, low-level managers, and some skilled tradesmen). Nearly half of the crowd was black or Latino.

But CAP never had another convention. In the next year, conflicts over control of the organization brought it to a premature demise, whatever its other weaknesses might have been.

Following the Alinsky tradition, CAP had a staff—seven or eight at its peak—of trained outsiders who raised money, did research, and provided the logistical support for demonstrations and campaigns. They were expected to be virtually invisible, working behind the scenes and moving on to another project in two or three years.

Theoretically, Alinsky-style community organizations are controlled by the leaders—people from the community who volunteer their time and make public statements. Yet leaders are always heavily dependent on staff, who are in a position to know what is happening day to day. The staff works full-time and the staff director, in allocating the time of organizers, can influence the success of projects, as CAP leaders eventually discovered.

Leaders from the different community groups that formed CAP were continually exhorted to raise money, often with the implied promise of having more staff time if they brought in large sums. Yet many CAP leaders felt that the promises were not honored.

CAP staff problems were exacerbated by rivalry between the Industrial Areas Foundation, which was retained as a paid consultant and provided nearly all of the staff training, and the new Midwest Academy, another training school for organizers. IAF reportedly wanted a "loyalist" in the staff director position, and the woman, a former leader, who was placed there—over an experienced staff organizer with friendly ties to the Academy—turned out to be far less effective as staff director than she had been as a leader.

Controversy over national network.

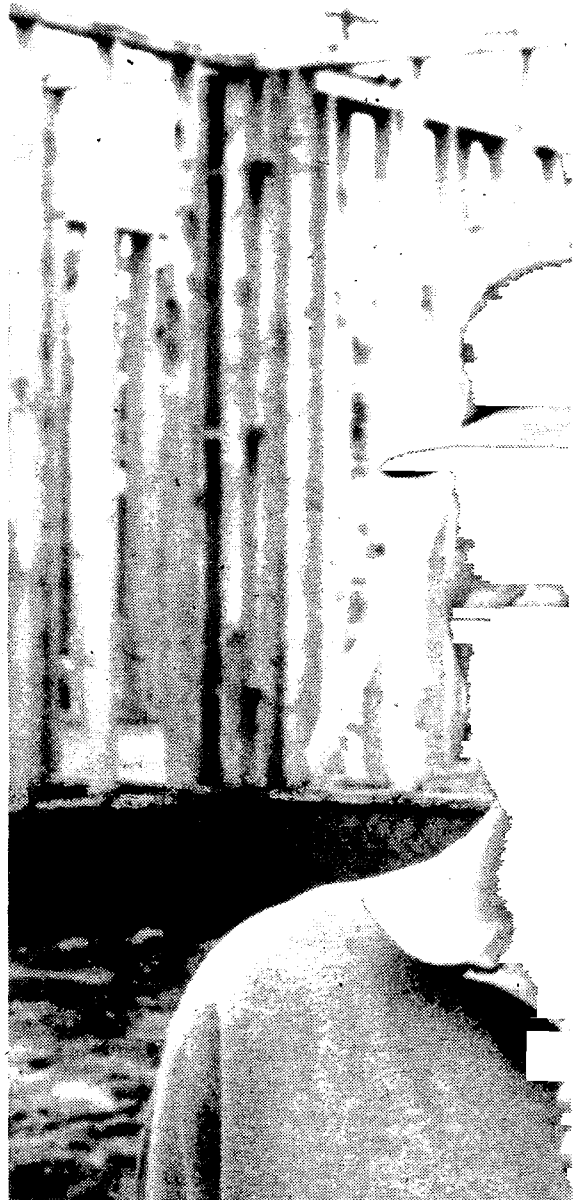
In early 1975 CAP programs began to suffer as staff were placed under extreme pressure to bring in as many "bodies" as possible to the convention. At the same time, there was widespread confusion over CAP's future programmatic direction.

The developing frustrations and conflict between staff and some leaders broke into the open over a proposed national network for funding new community groups. Named "Links," the network would draw off 10 percent of CAP's revenue from canvassing, its primary funding base, up to \$25,000 a year.

Some leaders argued that they couldn't afford the national network, being pushed by the IAF, that they needed more staff for their own work, or that a statewide

Continued on page 20.

By David



Top, Jim Pearl, retired UAW worker, of the South of low income housing his group helped make housing. **Bottom,** Lee Chapman, lobbying for a faces as Public Action's Lifeline bill passes the later defeated by the full House.

A lack of clear program, too few troops, staff domination, competition with other organizations and a tendency to go for the flashy issues, all weakened CAP, but internal conflict doomed it.

Public Action: building from the bottom

Loberg



Bob Creamer/Innos Public Action

Stretching 375 miles from industrial Chicago to sleepy, Southern-style Cairo, crossing coalfields and cornfields embracing rough machinery capitols like Peoria and Moline and small towns out of Norman Rockwell, the state of Illinois wraps within its borders people who rarely see eye to eye on politics.

The predictable divisions of black and white, old and young overlay the downstate suspicions of Chicagoans, the doubts of farmers about unionized urban workers and the worries of long-established residents about recent immigrants still more at home in Polish or Spanish than English.

So something unusual is happening when a young statewide federation of community groups, the Illinois Public Action Council, succeeds in bringing together under one organizational umbrella—with pledges of mutual aid—farmers with sunburned cheeks and white foreheads upset about property taxes, Chicago ethnics talking in the city's distinctive nasal twang about banks redlining their neighborhoods, Peoria blacks fighting shoddy housing projects, coal miners protesting utility rate increases, and suburbanites worried about encroaching superhighways.

Mobilizing "ordinary people."

In its first year "Public Action" has brought together 40 diverse citizen action and community groups claiming to speak for over 100,000 people, won several important victories in the state government and strengthened local organizing throughout the state.

Public Action, like other "new populist" or statewide Alinsky-style organizations, believes in mobilizing a broad spectrum of "ordinary people" to stand up for their interests against banks, corporations and hostile politicians.

Yet Public Action is different, not only in the variety of constituencies it has brought together, but also in its decentralized structure, which preserves financial and organization autonomy for member groups. Public Action provides a competent professional staff that can aid in the "centralized coordination of campaigns and set up local organizations that are locally funded, with their own staff," director Bob Creamer says.

Creamer and many of the Public Action staff got their first taste of community organizing in the Citizens Action Program (See accompanying article on CAP) and have concluded that tight staff control of CAP led to often deceitful manipulations of community leaders and CAP members, ultimately to CAP's demise.

CAP's money problems also led Creamer and others to try the looser, federated model. "To form a serious progressive political base for average people you're going to have to spend millions of dollars," Creamer says. "We're not going to raise that kind of money for a cen-

tralized organization. But you can raise lots of money for local groups."

Trade unions for the community.

Creamer frequently appeals to trade union imagery to explain Public Action's important. "There are two ways of organizing people," he says, "around where they work and around where they live." Public Action's central staff—now 13 people working on programs and 22 canvassing door-to-door to raise money for the central organization—should not dominate local groups, however, which "need people to service them, like locals in a union," he says.

Union staff representatives, of course, do often dominate the locals they serve, but so far Public Action can make a strong case that its organizers have not only formed a new, unprecedented (in Illinois, at least) and effective state-wide force lobbying, testifying, pressuring and protesting on behalf of progressive causes, but have also strengthened and helped to initiate local organizations.

At the state level, Public Action has gained respect from some legislators and administrators as competent and capable of mobilizing a worrisome number of angry citizens. As a result, Public Action played a major role in winning a law—the first of its type—to regulate mortgage bankers (who had been foreclosing on home mortgages held mainly by low-income families at a rate three times the national average and thus contributing to the destruction of many neighborhoods).

It has also forced the governor to appoint a consumer-oriented member to the Illinois Commerce Commission, opened decision-making meetings of the Commission to the public, and pushed through several minor property tax reform bills.

Public Action's "lifeline" electricity rate campaign picked up substantial support before heavy industry lobbying scuttled it. Now Public Action is following up the utility issue with complaints about utility lobbying practices and abuses of customer service, such as unnecessary deposits and quick cut-offs of service.

Access to more resources.

"They have access to people who can do research on some matters we can not," says Dave Garner, 32, an International Association of Machinists business agent, who is leader of the Southern Counties Action Movement. "It's a state-wide organization and has far more lobbying power than a small organization from southern Illinois."

Over 650 people, mainly from small towns, many of them coal miners or unionized factory workers, have joined SCAM since it started in 1976. They blocked half a rate hike sought by their utility and now want to reform property taxes.

Most of the members have little politi-

cal experience. Whether conservative or liberal, they are the sort who "believed you couldn't fight city hall," Garner said. "But when you start hitting people's pocketbooks, then they get mad."

People get mad over other injustices, too. The South Side Improvement Association, a Peoria group led by blacks for the past decade, had long fought against a hostile city council to redevelop their aging neighborhood.

Yet when a developer came in, they discovered he was building ticky-tacky houses with plywood foundations and other structural short-cuts that would have produced a very profitable instant slum.

The leaders, most of whom had been union activists at the big Caterpillar factory, brought in experts to back up their suspicions and persisted in their campaign despite rebuffs from the city. They feel that Public Action guarantees there is more power behind them, "if we need it."

At the same time, like people who learned the lessons of solidarity in their union work, they've gone out of their way to back Public Action projects, even if they had no immediate interest. "We've had anything from three to 20 people practically living in Springfield [the state capitol]," SSIA activist Jim Pearl says, "helping them with anything they want."

Winning the farmers.

Last December farmers in Shelby County, in the southern part of the state, were suddenly hit by staggering property tax increases, often 100 percent. Paul Montgomery, a farmer with a bit more land and success than many of his neighbors, attended a few spontaneous angry meetings before hearing about "this fellow out of Chicago who knew something about taxes."

The fellow was a Public Action organizer, who helped set up the Shelby County Taxpayers Association, which now has over 1,000 farmers in it. The Association filed protests of the increases, which often came from assessments based on high purchase prices for land sold for housing development rather than pasture land, and pressed for new laws.

"I can't see why the land should be taxed on an inflated sales price when you don't intend to sell, want to farm all your life and then hand it on to your kids," Montgomery says. The group wants to defend the family farm, yet they do not want to cut money for necessary services.

Montgomery and organizers have butted up against the traditional stone-willed individualism of small farmers who refuse to join organizations. "That's one of the pitfalls of farming," he observes. "You get so independent you're alienated away from some of the things you should be interested in."

Montgomery hopes that the Shelby County Taxpayers Assn. will move on to

Continued on page 20.



Bob Creamer/Innos Public Action

the Improvement Association in Peoria in front of the city hall. Now he is trying to make sure it is good. The bill was passed by the city council, is one of the happy outcomes of the Public Utilities Committee. The bill was

Illinois Public Action is like other new populist groups in seeking to organize mass citizen action, but its commitment to a decentralized structure and building strong local groups makes it work.

Editorial



New beginning in Mid-East?

In an editorial less than two months ago (Oct. 12) we noted that powerful forces were moving not only the U.S. and the USSR but also Israel and the Arabs toward compromise in the Middle East. We said: "If that compromise accomplishes Arab recognition of Israel as a nation, Israeli recognition of Palestinian rights to self-determination, including the right to statehood, Israeli return substantially to its pre-1967 borders, and treaty-secured normalization of relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors," it would be a compromise worth working for.

At that time such talk of compromise seemed fanciful to some. Now it has clearly entered the realm of possibility. The world moves, and given sufficiently powerful forces, it moves quickly.

What are some of those forces?

Strategic American interests in the Mediterranean Sea and its oil, trade, investment, and monetary relations with the Arab nations have moved the U.S. away from unconditional support for Israel and toward exerting intense pressure on both Egypt and Israel to exhibit greater flexibility in negotiating with one another for a Middle East settlement.

The USSR wants to avoid a Middle East conflagration that might bring it into direct conflict with the U.S., which a failure at the upcoming Geneva confer-

ence could precipitate. The Soviets, also, have learned that enmity towards Israel does not necessarily guarantee reliable allies among bourgeois Arab states.

As for Egypt, the government of Anwar el-Sadat recognizes that another war with Israel would probably bring it down in the debris of military stalemate or defeat, skyrocketing debt, and economic deterioration. Egypt carries an enormous debt for past arms purchases. It repudiated its debt to the Soviet Union, and went to the IMF for a \$1.5 billion loan. It cannot have guns and butter and the further neglect of "butter"—economic development and social amelioration—will jeopardize the rule of the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Israel, for its part, learned from the 1973 war that future wars against the Arabs will incur progressively greater costs, not only in wealth and people but also in national independence and democratic institutions. Israelis of all parties have come to recognize that they can no longer depend upon unconditional support from the U.S., and that continued belligerence can only lead to international isolation and increased insecurity.

All these forces tending toward compromise brought Sadat to Jerusalem. Not the least of these forces, it must be added, is the desire for peace among the Israeli and Arab people, as well as among the

people of Europe, the U.S. and the USSR.

Sadat's exchange with Prime Minister Menahem Begin and opposition Labor party leader Shimon Peres in the Knesset carried tremendous symbolic impact, which is not to be underestimated in human affairs. But there was also substance.

It was a matter of substance for Sadat to declare Egyptian recognition of Israel as a nation and Egypt's readiness to join with Israel and other Arab states in guaranteeing Israel's security and partnership in the Middle East community of nations. Similarly, in offering to guarantee peace and Israel's security prior to Israel's giving up Arab territories and recognizing Palestinian rights, instead of the other way around, Sadat materially changed the Egyptian—and possibly the Arab nations'—negotiating position. As Sadat said, it is now up to Israel to respond, and he has made it virtually impossible for that response to remain within the terms of Begin's previously stated position.

There was something of substance in Begin's address to the Knesset, but more in what he did not say than in what he did. Begin did not denounce the PLO, and though he used the term, "Eretz Israel," he did not repeat claims to Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), but declared everything open to negotiation. Perhaps more significant in the long run was Peres' statement that "the identity

of the Palestinians must be found without endangering the security of Israel," which implies that it can be found.

In engaging in ongoing direct negotiations, the Egyptian and Israeli leaders are seeking to get a grip on forces that have hitherto been moving more and more beyond their control. They are seeking to insure some success at Geneva to avoid another war that they see as inevitable in the event of failure. And they are seeking to attain for themselves and for the Middle East as a whole greater leverage, and hence more independence vis-a-vis the U.S. and the USSR.

It is also possible that Egypt sees in its initiative, which may feasibly lead to an Egyptian-Israeli *entente cordiale*, a new counter-weight against the looming power of an American-fed Iranian autocracy.

The danger remains that the Palestinian Arab people's interests and rights may be lost in the vortex of Egyptian and Israeli power politics. But that danger existed before Sadat's trip to Jerusalem. And the prospect of a new departure opens opportunities for the achievement of Palestinian statehood that were not there before. The Palestinians have carried on their struggle under the conditions of general war and Arab refusal to recognize Israel's existence as a nation. They are well situated to continue their struggle under new circumstances of general peace and greater momentum toward mutual recognition of the right to statehood of both Israel and themselves.

Should peace prevail, Israel can no longer argue on grounds of security for expansion or against a Palestinian Arab state. Nor will biblical arguments be any more convincing. In a condition of general peace, moreover, the PLO will have less need to depend so heavily, as they now do, on the good graces of the Syrian government, which has proved a less than constant ally.

Some socialists and other friends of the Palestinian Arab cause have held that peace is detrimental to Palestinian rights and revolution in the Middle East. The past 30 years' history of warfare does not support that position. Continuing war has strengthened the national bourgeoisies and rightwing political groups in the Arab countries and Israel alike. It has weakened both the PLO and the Palestinian Arabs. It has also provided a continuing pretext for big power intervention injurious to the cause of self-determination.

As socialists, we support direct negotiations between Israel and Egypt and the other Arab states that will lead to Israel's security and the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state. We believe the Palestinian Arabs should recognize Israel's nationhood, and Israel should negotiate directly with the Palestinians, including the PLO, and recognize the Palestinians' nationhood and right to their own state. We believe Israel should return substantially to its pre-1967 borders, and that Israel and the Arab states should enter into treaties of peace and friendship. Such an outcome will aid the cause of self-determination among the nations of the Middle East by making them less accessible to manipulation by the big powers. It will be most conducive to the next stage in the struggle for socialist democracy in both Israel and the Arab nations. In preparing the way for dispelling national hatreds and animosities, it will also be the best way to encourage working class solidarity across national, religious, and ethnic lines.

Both Sadat and Begin invoked the prophet Zachariah before the Knesset in calling for peace with justice. Zachariah is also the prophet who admonished, "Be ye not as your fathers," and who asked, "Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" It was a prophecy of new beginnings that socialists may welcome and help to bring to an outcome beyond the limits that Sadat or Begin may wish them to go.

Barbara Ehrenreich

German terrorists: Small-timers emulating their biggers



Reading about how the German people are "stunned" and frightened by the recent wave of terrorism reminds me of some of the reactions to Son of Sam here in New York last summer. My babysitter, for example, spent days trying to decide whether to cut her hair short to avoid being picked off by Sam. I told her I thought this was an unnecessary precaution: after all, we lived a good ten miles from any of his stalking grounds, in a metropolitan area that must contain about two million other long-haired, female, potential targets. Statistically speaking, she was as likely to be eaten by a shark at Jones Beach or attacked by a rabid daschund at the playground.

But this reasoning didn't seem to calm her down. How could I (Barbara) just go off into the city while that man is loose?—she wanted to know (and with shoulder-length hair, no less). I explained to her that as far as I was concerned there were a lot more dangerous men than Son of Sam loose in New York City. The worst of them dress in neatly tailored suits and carry attache cases. They hardly ever shoot anyone, but they run the banks and the businesses that grind millions of people down into poverty, not only in New York, but around the world. They're responsible for hundreds of thousands of industrial deaths each year, for misery and unemployment in the inner cities, for the shanty-towns around every city of Latin America, for unspeakable torture in Chile and Iran, etc., etc. Now those guys are *really* terrifying, I said. But she was back to worrying about her chances of evading the small-time sniper.

From my point of view, the German people had a lot more to worry about a few weeks ago than they do now. Unbe-

knownst to most of them, an extremely dangerous man was walking the streets. In his younger days he had been a prominent member of Europe's largest terrorist organization. This group didn't bother with little stuff, like hijacking 737's or kidnapping businessmen. They were big-time terrorists, specializing in the kidnapping of whole neighborhoods full of people, the conquest of nations and the elimination of races. This particular dangerous man I am thinking about had participated in his organization's armed takeover (would it sound more terrifying if we called it a "hijacking"?) of the nation of Czechoslovakia—which featured the murder of 60,000 Jews, communists, workers, Czech soldiers and random citizens. His name was Hans Martin Schleyer.

Sometime in mid-October Schleyer was killed by a group of small-time terrorists called the Red Army Faction who make a practice of rubbing out those tailored men with attache cases that I tried to warn my babysitter about. Now, I don't think much of the R.A.F. either. I would prefer to see someone like Schleyer tried for his past crimes and legally sentenced, with all due process—rather than having his throat cut and being stuffed into an automobile trunk. But still, it seemed to me that, with Schleyer off the streets and out of the corporate boardrooms, the average German should breathe a little easier, like we all did in New York when Son of Sam was picked up. One less terrorist is one less terrorist, right?

Wrong. And that's the part I don't understand. There's a funny sort of hierarchy among terrorists. The small-time ones become Public Enemies—pursued by commandos, denounced by the Pope, dreaded by impressionable teenagers. The big-time ones become Public Figures—cor-

porate leaders, generals, heads of state. If you throw a bomb that kills ten people, you are, of course, a criminal. But if you brandish bombs that can wipe out thousands, you're a responsible head of state.

Some of the big-timers are really shameless, like South Africa's Vorster, who constantly complains that his regime is being threatened by "terrorists" when in fact that regime would not last for another day without the systematic application of terror to 17 million black people. And if the current right-wing German campaign to rehabilitate Hitler works out, the media will have made their point: Petty terror is reprehensible; big time terror is respectable. Crime doesn't pay—unless it's done on a sufficiently grand scale.

Contrast, for example, the German government's reaction to big-time terrorist Schleyer to its reaction to the small-time terrorists of the Baader-Meinhof gang. The latter were treated like criminals of such incredible ferocity that they had to be locked up in a specially constructed prison and isolated from almost all human contact (including their attorneys). After the recent hijacking on their behalf, two were shot dead in their cells, one was hanged to death, a fourth was stabbed in the chest. The three dead prisoners were buried in the presence of a thousand policemen, as if they might spring up with bombs at any moment.

Meanwhile Schleyer was buried with all the pomp usually accorded to dead heads of state. A government commission investigating the prisoners' deaths reported that they had committed suicide, supposedly out of despair over the failure of the hijacking. Officially, good citizen Schleyer was murdered by desperate terrorists; prisoners Baader, Raspe and Enslin simply did what desperate terrorists do

when there is no one else around to kill—they killed themselves.

The idea that these prisoners actually smuggled weapons into their maximum security cells and coordinated a four-way suicide pact is about as plausible as the idea that Hans Martin Schleyer might have climbed into that automobile trunk all by himself, and—sick with remorse over his career as a Nazi—cut his own throat. What we have here is another case of the big terrorists winning out over some little ones. The German government, whose daring commando raid in Mogadishu puts it in the forefront of the "world fight against terrorism," honors ex-Nazis and murders prisoners in their cells—not to mention terrorizing every leftist intellectual who can possibly be linked up with the "wave of terrorism." (In recent weeks, there have even been arrests of bookstore clerks and truck drivers for unwittingly helping to circulate "terrorist," i.e., left or anarchist books.)

The world fight against terrorism needs to start concentrating on the big-timers: the Vorsters, the Pinochets, the Smiths, the Schmidts and so on. Not as individuals, but as representatives of large-scale, organized systems of terror. The small-time terrorism of groups like the R.A.F. and the Baader-Meinhof gang will end when the big-time stuff is over and—if I understand the depth of their anger and desperation—probably not before. In the meantime, I recommend that those of us who believe in justice and hope for peaceful, democratic solutions keep a close watch on the health of Irmgard Moller, the German prisoner who was only stabbed.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.

Manning Marable

Bakke case compromise likely: will be neither beginning nor end



Case Number 76811, Regents of the University of California against Alan Bakke, has been presented before the Supreme Court. After three years of controversial litigation, the Supreme Court's decision on the Constitutionality of "racial quotas" involving millions of jobs and educational positions should be announced this spring.

The conventional thought on *Bakke* has been that the high court's decision will have a fundamental impact upon the status of minorities, much the same way that *Brown v. Board of Education* had in 1954. Taking historian C. Vann Woodward's analogy of the Civil Rights Movement as a "Second Reconstruction," Democratic liberals fear that a decision against "affirmative action" programs could constitute a second "Compromise of 1877," a legal retreat from equal rights for blacks. Archibald Cox, former Watergate special prosecutor and representative for the University of California in the case, states that the answer the Court gives "will determine, perhaps for decades, whether members of minorities are to have meaningful access to higher education in the professions..." Civil Rights organizations and black Democrats heartily concur with Cox's assessment.

From a grassroots perspective, it appears unlikely that a decision from the Supreme Court on *Bakke*, one way or another, will produce the dramatic segregation of American civil society that the liberals fear. One reason for this involves the present constituency of the Court. While Thurgood Marshall and William Brennan are the only remaining liberals, Potter Stewart, Byron White and John Paul

Stevens constitute a slightly right of center block that may create a liberal-centrist decision. The centrists are likely to strive for a compromise decision to allow Bakke to enter the University of California's Medical School without completely overturning the use of race as an important factor in admissions evaluations. The nature of the *Bakke* defense also makes possible a compromise decision. Reynold Colvin, Bakke's attorney, took the extreme position that *all* racial quotas that assist minorities in gaining quality education or jobs are unconstitutional.

This is not the first Supreme Court to be peculiarly sensitive to the opinions of Middle America. According to recent polls, whites opposed giving blacks a chance ahead of whites "in promotions where they have equal ability" by 82 to 12 percent, although a substantial minority of whites favor "affirmative action" in hiring women, blacks and other ethnic groups. The political demography of any era usually determines the Supreme Court rulings, not the reverse.

Yet the real political effect of *Bakke* will not evolve from the courtroom, but from the struggles within society. *Bakke* is the culmination of a fundamental political reaction against the gains of the Civil Rights Movement and nationalist upsurges of the late '60s. The manner in which liberals, leftists, blacks and labor respond to this reaction will be far more important than the decisions of nine men.

Within the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) a spirited struggle has developed over *Bakke*. President Albert Shanker and the AFT leadership insist that *Bakke* amounts to a simple case of

"reverse discrimination." At the AFT's recent convention, Shanker engineered a resolution opposing the use of racial quotas to implement affirmative action. Despite opposition from the AFT Caucus on Segregation and Equality in Education, a coalition of blacks and leftists, the union filed an *amicus curiae* brief with the Supreme Court on behalf of Bakke.

Within the labor movement, the leadership and a majority of rank and file workers favor Bakke's position. AFL-CIO president George Meany and the labor bureaucracy have said almost nothing about the case; privately the majority support the AFT's position. Since its lukewarm support for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, organized labor's leadership has consistently retreated from a principled struggle against racism. From its opposition to the Philadelphia plan in the late '60s, which attempted to increase black employment in the construction industry, to its rejection of busing in the mid '70s, labor bureaucrats have drifted along with the reactionary cultural ethos and increasingly conservative political climate of the period. Its silent support in favor of Bakke represents white labor's inability to transform and reeducate its rank and file towards an effective alliance with black working people. Labor's approach toward the issue reveals, more basically, an historic inability of the majority of working class whites to struggle against their own deep-seated racism.

Progressive elements within labor, however, are coalescing in favor of "affirmative action." Members of the International Longshoremen's Union, the American Federation of State, County and Muni-

pal Employees (AFSCME) and other unions organized and participated in anti-Bakke rallies in several major cities in early October. AFSCME, the United Mine Workers, the United Electrical Workers and several other unions filed *amicus curiae* briefs in favor of the University of California.

The black Democratic Caucus, the Urban League and the NAACP have naturally led the rhetorical assault against Bakke. As representatives of the Negro middle class, it is logical that they have defended the concept of racial quotas, which have allowed significant numbers of blacks to gain the educational skills necessary to be absorbed into the state and into white civil society. But by limiting their protests to the narrow legal question of affirmative action, they ignore the larger issue: whether the American economic and political system has the innate capacity to end racism.

Richard Kluger observed in *Simple Justice* that "it is more the business of melodrama than social analysis" to suggest that a single Supreme Court decision such as *Brown* "can change the course of history." The *Bakke* decision will in turn constitute neither a new beginning for Jim Crow nor an end to "a dream deferred." The lasting legacy of *Bakke* is being determined now, in the political struggles of labor, minorities and the left over the issue of racism.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the Law

The courts and involuntary sexitude



The Old Left hated capitalism for the good reasons that it lets some people starve, while others live in palaces; that it sets people to competing one with another for an artificially scarce supply of goods, which could easily be produced in abundance; that it wastes and despoils the world around us for the immediate buck; that it rewards hard-heartedness, uncaring, and vainglorious trampling on those who fall behind; that it leads to war and profits from war and has become institutionally dependent on risking (preparing for) war; that it sets race against race, youth against age, man against woman, consistently fostering the cheapest, most superficial emotions; that it creates false needs, and thus perpetual unease and anxiety, while reducing everything it can touch to what can be counted and hoarded; that it externalizes labor, creativity, and inspiration, imprisoning humankind within their own productions, so that, one and all, we feel part of a world we never made.

The New Left, it seems to me, discovered some additional reasons for hating capitalism. We pierced through to the molecular relationship between employer and employee, which is the heart of capitalism, and found it authoritarian, unconscionable, inherently degrading, wrong in itself quite apart from the distribution of goods.

This being so, what can be said about an employer who also takes sexual advantage of an employee of another sex?

The courts, as is their wont, have been slow to recognize even the existence of this unspeakable wrong.

There have been at least five cases in which women sexually harassed by male superiors have sued under Title VII.

One court said sexual harassment is a matter of personal proclivity, peculiarity or mannerism and not a company directed policy. The only way to avoid constant lawsuits when an employee makes amorous or sexual advances toward another employee would be to have employees who are asexual, the Court concluded. *Corne v. Bausch & Lomb, Inc.*, 10 FEP Cases 289 (D. Ariz. 1975).

Another court ruled that unless there was a consistent policy of requiring female employees to submit to the advances of male supervisors, courts should not delve into isolated complaints of sexual misconduct framed as violations of Title VII. *Miller v. Bank of America*, 13 FEP Cases 439 (N.D. Cal. 1976).

A third court came to essentially the same conclusion, holding: "Title VII... is not intended to provide a federal tort remedy for what amounts to physical attack motivated by sexual desire on the part of a supervisor and which happened to occur in a corporate corridor rather than a back alley." *Tomkins v. Public Service Electric & Gas Co.*, 13 FEP Cases (D. N.J. 1976).

These decisions spectacularly miss the

point. When (to use the language of a local incident reported to me) a male supervisor tells a female employee that he has an "itchy cock" and wonders if the employee can "take care of him," the employee is coerced by the fact of the employer-employee relationship. Of course there is no company policy condoning such behavior. To suppose that the employee is as free to say No in a corporate corridor as she would be were the male not her superior at work, is to suppose that every employee can leave one job and find another equivalent to it without difficulty.

There are some better decisions. A New Hampshire woman, married and a mother, was fired after her foreman asked her to go out with him and she refused. In a suit brought on grounds not of Title VII but simply of "public policy," the state Supreme Court ordered her reinstated.

Last July, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia handed down a fine decision, *Barnes v. Costle*, 15 FEP Cases 345 (1977). The suit was brought by a woman (who happened to be black) against her superior (who also happened to be black) in the Environmental Protection Agency. She alleged that he repeatedly suggested to her "that if she cooperated with him in a sexual affair, her employment status would be enhanced." She refused and her job was abolished.

The court insisted: "The situation is very different from instances of sexual af-

fairs between an agency's employees which are not tied to employment opportunity." Ms. Barnes' only alternatives, the Court observed, "were to submit to sexual blackmail or suffer adversity as an employee"; and it added acidly:

"[The defendant], quite understandably, does not argue that provision of sexual services can qualify as a 'bona fide occupational qualification' for women in federal employment."

Piercing through the spurious argument of the other federal courts which had considered sexual harassment, the opinion declared: "To say, then, that she was victimized in her employment simply because she declined the invitation is to ignore the asserted fact that she was invited only because she was a woman subordinate to the inviter in the hierarchy of agency personnel."

Thus the law can sometimes come round to the right point of view. But the only way to protect the courageous Ms. Barnes and her sisters everywhere is to create a society with no employers and no employees.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers. His column appears regularly.

Barbara Garson

Around in circles with pollution

A very nice couple in Portland, Ore., donated the downstairs of their house for our day care center. Imagine, use of the ground floor, from eight to five, for 15 little children. Naturally we were anxious to keep the place in good condition and follow any rules.

Unfortunately, these generous people were recyclers.

After snacks we parents had to peel the labels off the juice cans and flatten them. After lunch we had to wade through the kiddie litter, separating organic from inorganic. At the end of the day we collected the accumulated apple cores and orange peels to bury in the compost heap.

The other mothers seemed to think this was very moral behavior, quite in keeping with our concept of a co-op. I did too I guess. But deep down I always resented the idea of being so good.

One day as I was running hot water over a grape juice bottle so that I could clean off the label before putting it in the proper receptacle, the whole thing shattered. (Not the bottle, but my sense of why we were doing it all.)

"What kind of nonsense is this?" I shouted. "I've got 15 kids to take care of, and here I am washing labels off bottles one by one while a machine is slapping them on faster than all the good women of Portland could possibly peel them off."

I considered taking Juliet out of the nursery school.

"Either it's right to paste paper labels on bottles or it's wrong," I reasoned. "If it's wrong you don't sit there scraping them off. You go down to the factory and make them stop. Rip out the evil root and branch!"

Mayor Tom just a hard-liner, a law-and-order type, but I don't think that the victims of crime should pay.

I held onto these convictions, in fact they grew stronger. But I never could convince anyone in the nursery school.

In the natural course of events, Juliet graduated into public school.

When she came home from kindergarten she brought home a "Good Girl" certificate.



I didn't feel any need to defend myself. But when she came home from the first grade and told me "People start pollution; people can stop pollution," I was furious.

"You didn't start pollution! I didn't start pollution! You're six years old young lady, and it's time you realized you're living in a class society. Some people profit from pollution. The rest of us could stop them if..."

"But mommy..."

"And furthermore, I forbid you to join the Brownie Scouts."

"But..."

"I forbid you to go on neighborhood cleanups and paper-recycling campaigns."

"But..."

"If you want to clean up the environment, join a revolutionary socialist organization."

"But..."

"And if there isn't a nice one, start one. You've got a long life."

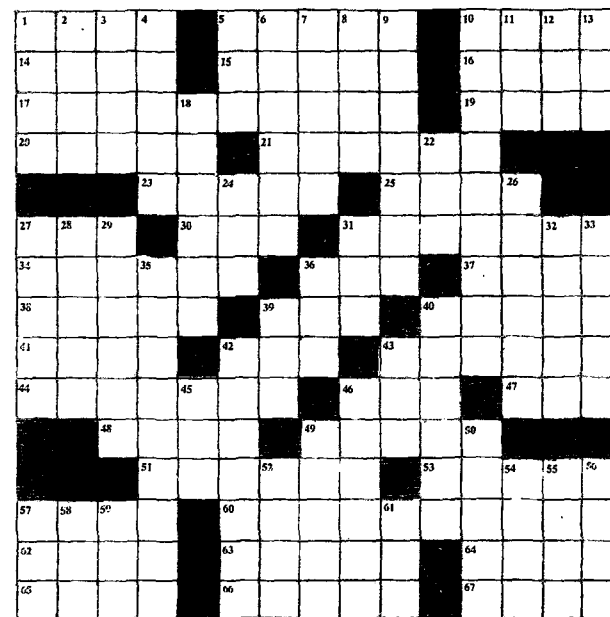
"But mommy, all the girls I like in the second grade are in the Brownies."

"I know," I sighed, "I know. And all the nice grown ups are recyclers. That's why we have pollution."

Barbara Garson is the author of the play MacBird and of All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work, Penguin (\$1.95). This piece appeared originally as an Op-Ed in the New York Times, Dec. 31, 1974.

December 3

by David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Labor aristocrat, ret.
- 5 Tic
- 10 LOCATION OF 9 DOWN
- 14 Zoological suffix for class
- 15 The king, in French
- 16 "_____ boy!"
- 17 WHY
- 19 Ardor
- 20 More painful
- 21 "She _____ like Twiggy."
- 23 Bridge or poker term
- 25 Parts of a circle
- 27 Liberal college pol. org.
- 30 Where to get an ed.
- 31 There are 8 quarts _____
- 34 Chocolates
- 36 Stops include 59, 72, 81
- 37 Babyl. god of war
- 38 Tibetan monks
- 39 Theresa or Bernadette: Abbr.
- 40 Toast
- 41 CELEBRATE BY PLACING _____
- 42 Touch Fido
- 43 It: possessive pronoun
- 44 _____ Labor Act
- 46 Baseball league: abbr.
- 47 WWI army: abbr.
- 48 Kind of shark
- 49 Difficult breaths
- 51 Xmas order

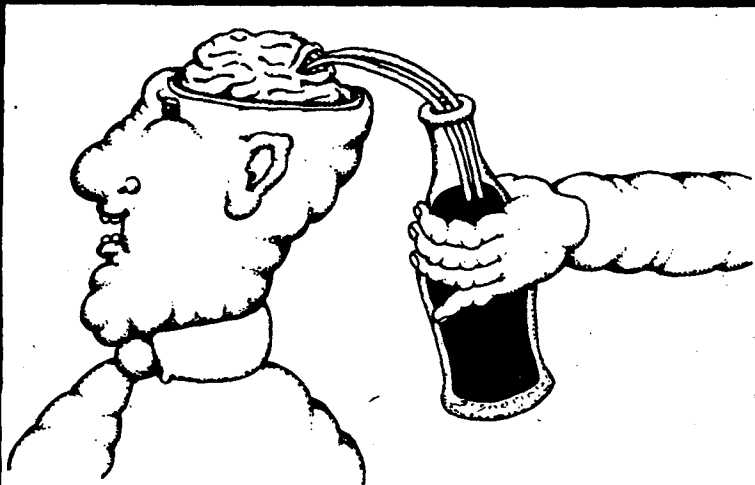
- 53 "_____ I win, tails..."
- 57 Rotter and Amster
- 60 WHAT
- 62 City on the Irtysh
- 63 Patrick or O.
- 64 Chinese dynasty
- 64 Caesar's unless
- 66 Join
- 67 Japanese drink

- 26 Watery membrane
- 27 WHO: MARTY _____, ASSOC. ED.
- 28 _____ JOHNSTONE, FOR. CORR.
- 29 As slow _____ the U.S. _____
- 31 Suffix for equ or mar
- 32 Packing case
- 33 ENTERTAINMENT: RETURN OF THE _____
- 35 WHO: ED _____, STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK, USW
- 36 SPONSOR OF 60 ACROSS
- 39 Economist Jean Baptiste _____
- 40 Antibiotic
- 42 Verve
- 43 Liq. measures
- 45 Class or Korean
- 46 Human or Boy
- 49 Ferber novel
- 50 Dr. of children's books
- 52 Chemical prefix
- 54 Greenish-blue
- 55 Submerge a doughnut
- 56 "Parsley, _____, rosemary and thyme"
- 57 WHO: _____ ROSE, POLITICAL JOURNALIST
- 58 Jacques' friend
- 59 Publisher's abbr.
- 61 Guardian-woman god of history

Down:

- 1 Military addresses
- 2 WHO: BETTY _____, CO-ALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY
- 3 German river
- 4 Type of cake
- 5 Patty's abductors: abbr.
- 6 Gettysburg Address word
- 7 Came to pass
- 8 Musical notes
- 9 WHERE: HOTEL ORIGINALLY LISTED, NOW THE BLACKSTONE (Changed to cross up ITT puzzle maker?)
- 10 WHO: _____, NATIONAL BOARD, DSOC
- 11 Resident: suffix
- 12 Religious order: abbr.
- 13 Buddy
- 18 Obliterates
- 22 Irish org.
- 24 Suffix meaning science of

Chau-tau-qua: an assembly for the purpose of education and refreshment of the mind.



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1 PM The Politics of Energy, **Barry Commoner**
2:30 Workshops:
Organizing Working Women, **Day Creamer, Clara Day, Mary Jean Collins**
Problems and Prospects for American Socialism, **Dorothy Healey**
Carter and the Prospects for Capitalism, **Alan Wolfe, Carl Parrini**
Racism and Civil Liberties, **Lu Palmer, David Hamlin, Sister Gabriel Herbers**
Toward a New Political Majority in Chicago, **Don Rose, Vernon Jarrett, Heather Booth**
The Arms Race and Nuclear Power, **Sam Day, Betty Bono**
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Bilandic Byrned

Continued from page 3.

paign contributions.

(Bilandic already has \$206,000 in campaign funds and has scheduled, much to the chagrin of County party chairman George Dunne, his own personal fundraiser for January, when he will get at least another \$300,000. Also, the day after Byrne's memo broke, Bilandic sat next to the president of Continental Air Transport, a Checker Cab affiliate, at a Merchants and Manufacturers breakfast.)

Yet what is most significant is that there is a network of Machine Democrats, local businessmen and bankers whose finances are heavily influenced by city political decisions, attorneys like Don Reuben, news media like the *Tribune* (Byrne's memo charged that Bilandic's right-hand man asked Reuben to "get hold of his people at the *Tribune* and kill any adverse publicity"), and a few national corporate leaders who regularly scratch each other's backs.

It's like Checker president Feldman reportedly said to Bilandic: "We think alike." Ultimately, they all share the

wealth among themselves, while the city treasury is bilked of potential income by overcharging contractors and underpaying licensees, while major electoral constituencies are ignored in favor of repaying debts incurred by ward committeemen, and while Chicago citizens pay extra for, among other things, a taxicab ride. Payoffs need not accompany each and every deal for the system to work.

There is still an awesome arrogance of power among those long accustomed to being insiders to the system, despite the fears that the once-powerful kingdom of Richard Daley is disintegrating into a battleground of dukes, princes and pretenders to royalty. Out in the corridors next to the City Council chambers, just before the special committee to investigate the cab rate increase was approved, a laughing group of several of the least competent Machine aldermen were gathered in an impromptu barbershop quartet, singing, "We've got the balance/we've got the balance/of power."

Independent alderman Ross Lathrop saw it differently, but possibly over-optimistically: "We've really got them up against the wall on this one." ■

Sadat-Begin meeting

In spite of new pressure from Sadat's visit, Begin will continue stalling.

Continued from page 9.

The most obvious diplomatic aim of Sadat's trip is to increase world, and especially American, pressure on Israel. There already exists near-universal consensus around his position. The solidifying of a pro-American, conservative Arab axis, led by Egypt and Saudi Arabia, precludes the use of other weapons, such as an oil boycott or major price rises. The gesture of coming to Jerusalem was meant to spotlight Israeli intransigence as the prime cause of stalemate.

But the momentous and risky step of breaking down, with one fell swoop, the whole set of prohibitions and taboos governing the Arab states' treatment of Israel was much more than a mere gesture. The psychological effect on the Israeli public was incomparable.

Only four years ago, a bloody war was fought between the two countries. Now, thousands of Egyptian flags adorned Jerusalem streets. The 30-year-old phrase "Ruling Clique of Egypt" became "Mr. Sadat." Overnight, the Israeli lament "There is no one to talk to" lost all meaning. The people's deep longing for peace burst forth in emotional demonstrations of joy.

Israeli Arabs were affected too. Initial opposition to the visit dissolved when it became clear that Sadat was not coming to make a separate peace at the expense of the Palestinians. Even if perhaps he wants to, he cannot: they remain the objective core of the conflict.

The visit served to break down dominant Zionist and some Arab assumptions about "a Jewish state in perpetual conflict with its Arab environment." Predictions by dreamers about the Arabic-speaking Jews and Arabs of Israel providing a link to the Arab world suddenly became true: the need for translators, hosts, guides, reporters to interview the hundreds of Egyptians who accompanied Sadat. Even Begin publicly regretted that he does not speak Arabic. A medley of Hebrew songs was played on Radio Cairo. In this sense, the Middle East will never be the same.

Begin on the spot.

As the old assumptions break down and national chauvinism on both sides decreases following such an event, hard-line political stands become more difficult to maintain. Past polls have shown that the

vast majority of Israelis have supported holding on to the territories not for Begin's mystical-religious reasons, but because they believed peace to be impossible. Sadat's initiative puts the Israeli government on the spot. Had they known that the Egyptian would really come, they might not have so confidently invited him.

If no real concessions are offered soon on the questions of the territories and the Palestinians, a popular demand for peace could even erupt inside Israel. Left and other pro-peace forces are already beginning a loud offensive. Now they might be much less isolated than in the past.

Labor "opposition" leader Shimon Peres, who spoke after Sadat and Begin, used the term "Palestinian people" for the first time, and hinted that their problem need not necessarily be solved in the Jordanian context. Peres' position was still closer to Begin's than to Sadat's, but if Labor proves willing and able to ride the wave of peace sentiment, it could eventually catalyze more flexible elements of the ruling coalition to isolate Begin, or to induce him to moderate his line.

However, such optimism is premature. Begin still commands wide support. In fact, his hard line is actually given credit by much of the populace for bringing Sadat to Jerusalem. And Begin, besides being supported by elements that profit from the continued war and occupation, is not known for pragmatism. He is ideologically committed to keeping the territories that could become a Palestinian state.

The current government is liable to continue its stalling, or perhaps even to provoke a war against Syria or the Palestinians in Lebanon, hoping to further divide them from Egypt and to shake off international pressure for a settlement. Against blatant international pressure, Begin can rally a large majority of the Israeli people in support of even extreme policies. Yet apparently, some such outside intervention will be necessary to achieve a settlement, to prevent war.

Sadat's bold move captured the Israeli people's imagination, and provided Begin's government with a golden opportunity to break out of the corner into which its own stubborn rhetoric has painted it. Had Begin offered, on Nov. 21, to return all the territories and invite Yassir Arafat as Jerusalem's next honored guest, the Israeli people would have supported him. Oft-stated warnings that a locally-initiated peace would be much more healthy than one imposed by the superpowers were proven true this week in Jerusalem, but again went unheeded.

David Mandel is the editor of New Outlook.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Klan battles bar, bar battles back

Daily Californian

SAN DIEGO — Bob Neal and Don Couture have known each other since they were kids. They served together in the Marines. For the last 15 years they've shared a dream—to open a bar in Lakeside, a country-commuter town in east San Diego County.

Traditionally, the bars in Lakeside have been known as rough places where cowboys and bikers hang out looking for trouble. Bob and Don wanted to establish a different kind of bar—one with a decent atmosphere and good Country & Western entertainment.

On Sept. 9 their dream came true. After years of planning and saving they were able to open the doors of Bob and Don's Bus Stop Bar at 10053 Maine Street for a packed opening night. Two months later they face financial ruin, boycott, vandalism and death threats because of their refusal to submit to the demands of the Ku Klux Klan.

The trouble started the week the bar opened. They hired Terri Adams, a young black woman C&W singer, and posted a sign reading "No Knives, Tank-Tops or Colors." (Colors refer to the emblems and patches worn by different motorcycle clubs.)

"A group of them [KKK'ers] came in a few days after we opened," Bob Neal recalls. "Some of them were wearing these White Power T-Shirts. They all sat down at one end of the bar. I went down and asked if I could help them. They said no, they'd just come in to observe that nigger. They said the citizens of Lakeside had asked them to come by and talk to us about hiring this nigger and this beaver, this Mexican fellow in the band."

The two bar owners decided that nobody was going to tell them how to run their business. After that night anyone wearing a White Power or KKK T-Shirt was asked to leave. "We didn't need people walking around in their colors advertising for trouble," Neal explains.

Harassment and a shooting.

On Saturday, Sept. 17, the Klan retaliated with a demonstration led by California "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger. Several dozen Klansmen in White Power T-shirts pushed their way past the doorman and demanded to be served at the bar while a number of other congregated in a parking lot across the street. Sheriff's deputies were called, but the bar was forced to close four hours early.

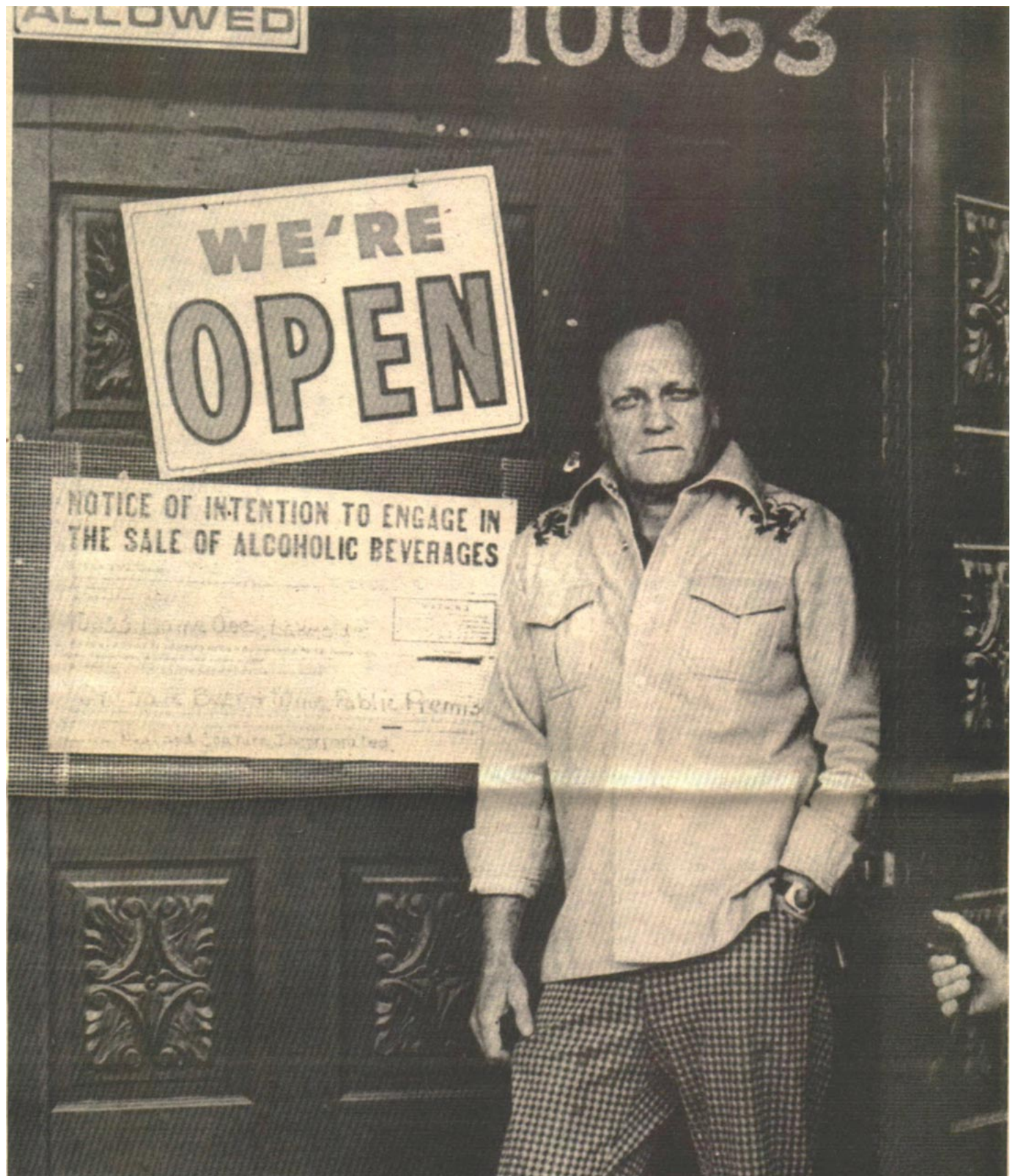
After that individual Klansmen continued to come by to harass the band and a warning card was left on the bar's front door.

On Wednesday, Oct. 19, Gary Walker, a Klansman from nearby El Cajon came into the bar and began making loud and abusive racial remarks. Bob Neal attempted to remove Walker forcibly after he refused to leave peacefully. The men were on the floor struggling when the bartender, a woman, brought a cocked pistol out from the office. The pistol, which reportedly had a lighter than normal trigger-pull, accidentally went off, hitting the Klansman in the head.

After several days Walker was released from the hospital in satisfactory condition and allowed to continue his recovery at home. Neal suffered several bruised ribs.

Immediately after the shooting Neal and Couture began receiving death threats and Couture's house was broken into and vandalized. Their insurance was cancelled and a group of financial backers pulled out.

At the same time support came from other areas. Terri Adams and a number of other employees offered to work for nothing. The *Daily Californian*, an east county paper, urged its readers to patron-



Bob Neal, who wants to establish a different kind of San Diego bar—one with a decent atmosphere and good Country & Western music.

ize the bar, as did a local clergyman in his Sunday sermon.

"Even if there are only five Klansmen they gain a dangerous and distorted sense of power and prestige if they are able to shut down a business like this with their scare tactics," says Nikki Symington, an administrative aide to County Supervisor Lucille Moore.

"The Klan has done more damage to Lakeside than the Chamber of Commerce can repair in ten years," laments Glen Hayes, editor of the *Lakeside Back Country Trader*, who estimates that there are no more than ten to 20 Klansmen in the area. "The Klan has been orchestrating this confrontation for the news value they can get out of it."

"We want to show support for the stand these two men have taken," says Cathy Masa, director of the Heartland Human Relations Commission, a volunteer organization, established in 1969 to ensure civil rights and equal opportunity in the east county. "Friday night we had a party at the Bus Stop with about 150 people. There were cowboys Chicano militants, little old ladies, church and civil

rights people, a real mix. Everyone was having a good time while bringing some business back to the place."

On Thursday, Nov. 3, the District Attorney's office announced that no charges would be filed in the shooting of Gary Walker.

Tom Metzger claimed that this proved a white man could not get justice in America. "We have no plans to retaliate," he went on to say. "It's illegal, the Klan will not retaliate. But you should remember that Gary Walker had a lot of friends before he joined the Klan."

More conscious now.

This Friday morning, Nov. 4, Bob Neal is alone in his bar cleaning up, a magnum revolver strapped to his side.

"You know we're almost broke now," he says, "but we're gonna stay open. Just take it one day at a time. If a hate group like the Klan can scare away our customers and close us down then they can do it to anybody at any time."

"I saw this movie where this guy says 'Today is a good day to die.' While I don't think any day is a good day to die, if you have to die it's a lot better to have a prin-

ciple worth dying for."

He looks towards the light streaming through the open doors at the front of the big, empty bar. "I never thought that I would be standing up against somebody like the Klan," he says. "I was raised in Oklahoma and I was prejudiced all my life, up until several months ago—I was maybe as prejudiced as some of these people. But prejudice is ignorance. It's like turning on a light. As a matter of fact, I'm working on a song right now for Terri Adams. She asked me the other day what the title was and I told her the title is: 'I'm Falling in Love with the Whole Human Race.'"

"I'm going to be more conscious from now on," he concludes. "For years I'd look at these problems and just say, let somebody else take care of them, but now I realize you have to get off your butt and get involved yourself. The American way of life is a dream being shattered by these hate groups. If you let these groups go after the minorities the next thing you know they'll be going after the Okies and hell, I'm an Okie."

David Helvarg is a free-lance writer in San Diego.

SPORTS

A history of Soviet sports

SPORT IN SOVIET SOCIETY: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR

By James Riordan

Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1977, \$21.50

This book belongs in any basic collection of studies on Soviet society. It's not just for those interested in sports. It might be read with profit by, say, Herbert Marcuse, who knows something about Soviet marxism but who doesn't care for sports (see his recent letter to *IN THESE TIMES*). And it will certainly appeal to anyone interested in the social and institutional foundations of organized sport; in the relationship between sports and socialism; and in knowing why the Soviets win all those medals at international Olympics competitions.

Riordan's book is not a lively, insider's account of what it's like to be at a soccer match in Leningrad, or how it feels to be on the court with your workplace badminton team in Moscow, although the author has the credentials to do such a book. He's had an intimacy with his subject quite extraordinary for any foreign scholar in the Soviet field. Between 1961 and 1975 Riordan spent large chunks of time in the USSR as student, employee of Progress Publishers in Moscow, and as a correspondent of the journal of the British Olympic Association.

Riordan not only knows the subject; he can play. In addition to badminton, he mentions soccer, tennis, swimming and chess. He was also "a participant in less organized pursuits—e.g., weekend rambles, fishing and skiing excursions." He ought to be encouraged to write a memoir of these experiences.

As it is, instead of the talk, the sweat, and the temper of a Soviet locker room, Riordan has given us a scholarly evocation of the official debates and attitudes governing the development of organized sport in the USSR from before the Revolution to the present. It is a fascinating story, paralleling in every way the development (and maldevelopment) of other institutions—political, economic, cultural—in Soviet life.

It becomes a familiar story. The experiments and debates after the Revolution

and during the 1920s to ground sports in novel, uniquely socialist structures and attitudes avoiding the commercialism, spectatorism, elitism, and competitiveness of bourgeois society gave way in the 1930s to Stalinized forms and controls.

Years of physical culture.

Riordan dubs the period 1921-1929 as "years of physical culture," when the stress was on physical activity for utilitarian (national defense), healthful, even aesthetic purposes as against what was seen as the competitive, anti-socialist edge of sports.

Those were the days when the "hygienists" tilted against the advocates of "proletcult" over the suitability of tennis for Soviet society. The hygienists, who were most concerned about the health-giving benefits of physical activity, were in this case promoters of the sport. As one of them put it, tennis was "ideal from the biological standpoint in encouraging harmonious development; I find it hard to say what organs and muscles are not in use in tennis." To which a proletcultist replied that tennis, a game "for the white pants brigade and the bourgeoisie exhibits no comradeship or teamwork—the very qualities that the Russian needs. Tennis is also an expensive summer game... It should not and cannot receive as much support in the USSR as other, mass games."

Proletcult in general favored mass displays, gymnastics, and pageants as examples of authentically proletarian and cooperative sports activity.

Echoes of those debates may still be heard in the USSR today, but ever so faintly. For example, reacting to the growing popularity of yoga in recent years, Soviet authorities decided to bar any official support for it on the grounds that the exercise is an anti-social, navel-watching activity. (Other echoes of those debates may be heard here in the U.S.—see the exchange between Christopher Lasch, Eric Foner and Mark Naison over the meaning of the "Sports for the People" movement in the *New York Review of Books*, Sept. 29, 1977.)

Industrialization and competition.

The "years of physical culture" were suc-



The Russian ice hockey team after winning gold medals by defeating Czechoslovakia

ceeded by what Riordan calls the period of "industrialization and competitive sport," 1929-1941. Sports, as with other facets of Soviet life, were subordinated to the imperatives of rapid industrialization under Stalin.

The debates were quashed; official support went to promoting competition, rewarding individual excellence with cash and other bonuses, and offering widespread publicity and cultism for sports heroes. Meanwhile all sports activity was brought under central, hierarchically organized control.

To complete the picture, many of the administrators who had dug the foundations for Soviet sports were purged according to the familiar charges of the time—trotskyism, enemies of the people, and so on.

Another virtue of Riordan's book is the remarkably dispassionate way he handles these developments, describing (as any good historian of the USSR should) the blemishes and the achievements. Until 1968, for instance, there wasn't a single indoor swimming pool in Moscow schools, but private extravagances for the well-placed were quite com-

mon. Riordan mentions, among other things, "a private swimming pool at the dacha of a Soviet journalist just outside of Moscow." On the other hand, Soviet sports have been a powerful force for breaking down sexist barriers and religious taboos, particularly in the non-European sections of the USSR.

New challenges.

Organized sports is an urban phenomenon, closely related to other social indices, such as leisure-time availability. With the five-day week and a massive shift of the Soviet population to urban centers, new challenges to the old structures are inevitable. More swimming pools, more tennis courts, more equipment, more flexible administrative means for organizing sports activity will be necessary to maintain the "genuinely wide base" and the "virtually universal access to the means of practicing sports" that Riordan sees underlying the USSR's current position as "the world's leading all-round competitive sporting power."

—Louis Menashe
Louis Menashe writes regularly on Soviet affairs for *IN THESE TIMES* and likes to play tennis.

Citizens Action

Continued from page 12.

organization, not a national one, was the next logical step. Debate became even more bitter when people discovered that Links had been incorporated three months before CAP leaders were told about it. CAP staff began to lobby actively in favor of Links and against its critics.

Then, in a meeting that Links' critics charge was "packed" with unfamiliar faces, the Links network was approved. After that, fights continued over staff decisions to drop the newsletter, eliminate the research department, and juggle organizers around.

Several CAP community groups demanded that they be allowed to raise their own funds to hire staff accountable to their group, as one loosely affiliated, strong group on the southwest side did. CAP's staff director fought that plan. "What it really meant," one leader says, "was that they wanted control"—and "they" included the staff, as well as the IAF behind the scenes.

IAF director Ed Chambers, however, claims that CAP lasted as long as could be expected. It drew in the wrong kind of people and did not have an "institutional base" in the neighborhood, he now

says. Currently, IAF is organizing community groups composed of churches and some businesses, not of independently affiliated individuals.

Other CAP dissidents, including the organizers of the Illinois Public Action Council, are now trying to form groups with more local autonomy, local fund-raising and local control of staff in order to skirt some of CAP's problems.

Despite the successes of the CAP approach in winning some victories and bringing into politics people who would otherwise be home watching television and complaining into thin air, there remained—and remains today in successor efforts—a reluctance to push ever so slightly the kind of political discussion that could lead to a new vision of how society ticks and what alternatives could be created.

CAP had great potential, cut short by the battles for control. Yet even if it had survived, development of that potential would have required bold departures into new issues, new political fronts, new constituencies and new conceptions of how "populist" campaigns fit into a long-term movement. Those challenges now face the heirs of CAP.

A more detailed version of the history of CAP first appeared in the summer issue of *Working Papers for a New Society*, a quarterly review of movements and experiments toward a more democratic society. It is available for \$10 a year from 123 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Public Action

Continued from page 13.

other issues and strengthen Public Action, not simply melt away with success.

"We're not giving up," he says. "We're going to change the picture of taxes in the state with the help of other groups and Illinois Public Action. We intend to support Public Action in other campaigns and not just taxes. They did a tremendous job for us, even before we affiliated with them."

Education through action.

Public Action leaders and staff say that lack of money holds them back. Last year they raised \$170,000 for the central staff, but they think their door-to-door canvassing can produce little more. Dues are minimal, and they don't want to draw on the local coffers, which may amount to over \$400,000 a year.

VISTA workers will help some, especially in a new project involving the training of staff to serve two proposed Chicago coalitions—one of southside black groups, the other of Latinos on the west and near northwest sides. If they succeed, Public Action will be strengthened in Chicago, where community organization rivalry has impeded unified work.

With its loose structure, some Public

Action affiliates may head off in directions that don't meet the approval of others, but Creamer still thinks Public Action can build "a coalition with real self-interests that can differ on some things but can work together on others."

Organizers hope the coalition will consolidate "institutional bases of power" and solidify into an organization that can last for decades. That's as important for the political future of the country, they say, as organizing labor unions.

They also want the group to offer "progressive" solutions to the problems people face, but they see that as a separate goal. Partly as a consequence, political discussion within Public Action often remains at a diffuse anti-corporate level. Organizers stress agreement on specific goals for a campaign more than developing a deep political understanding and ideology counter to the prevailing capitalist perspective of the mass media and major parties.

They hope that the experience of blacks and whites, farmers and factory workers and the other often divided groups all working together in opposition to major corporate and political powers will bring its own education.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS



Nathan Irvin Huggins

Slavery was not their destiny

BLACK ODYSSEY: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery
By Nathan Irvin Huggins
Panthcon Books, New York, \$8.95

In a volume of some 250 pages, this is what Professor Huggins has tried to do:

- to compress within that space the story of the Afro-American slave experience (together with the African background);
- to "touch wherever possible the emotional and spiritual essence of [the slaves'] experience;"
- to focus, not on the protagonists of overt rebellion, defiance and escape, but on "the vast ma-

jority who adapted" to their condition.

That focus is motivated by a belief that beyond the manifest heroism of open resistance there was "a quality of courage still unsung" in the efforts of the vast majority to forge a family structure, "a cosmology and moral order," and the elements of a culture—all of which served to preserve human integrity and nurture the development of a community.

All this, Huggins asserts, represented a "triumph of the human spirit over adversity that is the great story in Afro-American slavery."

His concern with the emotional and spiritual leads him to choose a style that is "evocative and impressionistic." He warns the reader that in doing so he has "risked some distortion," citing as an example his construction of a model to describe the West African background, even though this background, which extended through two centuries and a great variety of locales, cannot truly be reduced to any single model.

Style, as well as brevity, is served by jettisoning such academic conventions as footnotes. However, a brief bibliographical note is appended, and the prefatory acknowledgments refer to the other pillar of scholarship upon which the book rests: research in several African countries and in the archives of the U.S. South. Indeed, the description and analysis of what was entailed in the forcible transplantation from Africa to America constitute an impressive portion of the book.

Huggins has produced a concise history of the Afro-American slave that is credible, eloquent, stimulating and thought provoking. Most thought-provoking, of course, is the contradiction between external adaptation to slavery and an internal refusal to concede its legitimacy. As Huggins puts it, in the perception of most slaves, "slavery was their condition, not their destiny." And further: "The slaves' tendency to adapt to their condition rather than to defy it, attests to their realism rather than their contentment or inertia. Never did Afro-American slaves assent to the rightness... of slavery."

Much of the drama in this history lies in the tension between the realism of adaptation and the underlying reality of discontent.

—Al Richmond

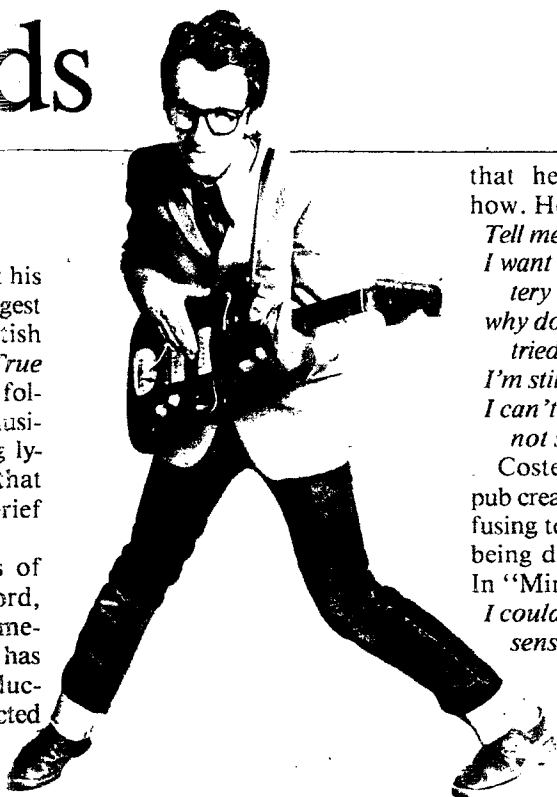
Al Richmond is a journalist and the author of A Long View from the Left.

Records

MY AIM IS TRUE
Elvis Costello
(Columbia Records)

His first name is Elvis, but his picture, words and music suggest an urban angst-ridden, British Buddy Holly. *My Aim Is True* should be a clear joy for rock followers. It gets down to the musical basics, without sacrificing lyrical poise or the humanity that creeps through on the 13 brief cuts.

Coming fast on the heels of Graham Parker's latest record, Costello's work confirms something that the punk explosion has obscured. Britain is still producing rockers, intimately connected



that he doesn't exactly know how. He screams:

*Tell me about the mystery dance
I want to know about the mystery dance
why don't you show me, cause I
tried and I tried
I'm still mystified,
I can't do it anymore and I'm
not satisfied.*

Costello's album is another pub creation, full of action and refusing to obscure the main points being discussed at the moment. In "Miracle Man," he sings:
*I could tell you that I like your
sensitivity*

*But you know it's the way you
walk.*

My Aim Is True is exactly that. It hits the mark with musical honesty and intensity. It's a fun record, and it announces the arrival of another promising artist who remains committed to the vision of rock'n'roll.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

with an earlier music who are representing it with new-found vitality.

The sound is limited to two guitars, drums and bass. The production values are sparse, and Costello's voice controls the foreground, mixing teenage lament with sardonic criticism of contemporary society. This is working class music, covering factory miseries ("Welcome to the Work-

ing Week"), misguided love ("Alison") and fear of the *Rebel Without a Cause* cataclysm ("Waiting for the End of the World").

A song like "Mystery Dance" summarizes Costello's view of the power of sex to the uninitiated. Frustration is the guide here, a dominant mode of discourse for the modern young. A guy wants to do it, but is willing to admit

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IN THESE TIMES is a pro-labor paper. Not just in the narrow sense that it supports the goals of organized labor. But also in the broad sense of connecting those goals to social vision that can tie all the working people of this country together.

Ed Sadowski



NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

A report from the International Women's Year conference in Houston; Dan Marshall on the reforms made by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Diana Johnstone on

the West German and French views of "international terrorism"; an interview with allegedly murdered South African leader Stephen Biko; a report on a rightwing public interest group.

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Records



Leonard Cohen, singer/songwriter

Cohen himself has expressed dislike for the album although he thinks it may represent some sort of artistic landmark.

DEATH OF A LADIES MAN

Leonard Cohen
Songs by Spector & Cohen
Produced by Phil Spector
(Warner Brothers Records)

Leonard Cohen is known for writing bitter-sweet tunes with sometimes insightful, sometimes amusing lyrics, which he renders in a plain but appealingly plaintive voice. Too bad you can barely hear either one on *Death of a Ladies Man*, the new album on which he shares equal billing with his producer, the legendary Phil Spector. A generous gesture on his part, perhaps, but don't forget that half the credit carries half the blame, and Leonard is able to claim that once Phil got hold of the tapes, the entire project was out of his control.

Spector, of course, made his mark as well as his first million in the early '60s as the Boy Wonder who produced groups like the Ronettes and the Crystals. It was then that he introduced his famous "Wall of Sound" technique that blended voices, brass, violins, guitars, drums and glock-

enspiels into one melodious swell of noise. But with the advent of British Rock, Spector found himself squeezed out of a steady job and forced to resort to the occasional free-lance assignment, most notably the Beatles' "Long and Winding Road" and the first couple of John Lennon albums. However, while Phil may have been sufficiently awed while in the presence of the ex-Beatle to give him a share in the mixing, Cohen exerted no such influence.

The result is a weird clash of music at odds with itself. Cohen is either drowned out by the excessive orchestration, or else dogged insistently by the use of instrumental frills where a lone voice would have served as well, if not better. Breathless is the best way to describe the relentless accompaniment, which, unlike the sparse arrangements on Cohen's previous records, doesn't pause for a minute. The beat never lets up to allow for the moment of silence that was obviously intended by the author.

Perhaps realizing his predicament once Spector got into the studio, Cohen has included more than the usual amount of "throwaway" numbers that serve primarily as one-shot jokes. Among these are "Memories" (which employs a cumbersome musical crescendo leading up to the ludicrous hook line, "won't you let me see your naked body?") and "Don't Go Home With Your Hard-On" which is probably saying enough right there. Cohen is joined on this particular cut by Allen Ginsberg and Bob Dylan, who can't be heard above the din any more

than he can.

A few of the other songs are bearable, and the title tune itself is almost good, except that it practically begs for a simpler arrangement. Cohen himself has expressed dislike for the album although he thinks it may represent some sort of artistic landmark. (Something on a par with smell-o-vision, perhaps?).

A lot of famous names lent their talent to help him out on this record, but like they say, with friends like that...

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel reviews films and music for IN THESE TIMES.

A WORKING MAN CAN'T GET NOWHERE TODAY

Merle Haggard
(Capitol Records)

AIN'T IT SOMETHIN'

James Talley
(Capitol Records)

In the era of the good time sound, the appearance of an album with real social lyrics is good news. When two show-up, it calls for a celebration.

James Talley and Merle Haggard both sing about what Woody Guthrie called "the plain thoughts of plain people." They write honestly about real, day-to-day joys and heartaches of working people. Talley is a virtual unknown while Haggard is king of the country hill. Both have recently released socially conscious albums, for which neither is likely to get the attention he deserves.

Merle Haggard's *Working Man Can't Get Nowhere Today* is the best C&W album of the year. Lyr-

ically, it's one of the most significant albums of the decade. Here is an accepted superstar saying loud and clear that things just don't work in the system.

I owe every dime I make to every soul I know

The higher up I reach the further down I go

This old broken heart of mine is all I got to show.

To be sure, Haggard offers no solutions, and no one will confuse him with Karl Marx. But then Karl never had the backing of Norm Hamlet on pedal steel and the impeccable Roy Nichols on guitar. Led by this duo, the Strangers show why they're the tightest back-up band in the business.

The rest of the disc is a foray into the best white country blues of the last 40 years, including:

- a moving tribute to the late Lefty Frizzell, an early Haggard influence;
- "Blues for Dixie";
- a rendition of "Moanin'"

that's so crisp you'll think you're listening to the Hank Williams original.

Some people will consider this album an attempt at some sort of country chic. It's not and hasn't had an easy time getting on the AM charts. They remember Haggard as the author of "Okie from Muskogee" and "Fightin' Side of Me," and forget that Merle Haggard was also writing songs like the inter-racial love story, "Irma Jackson" and "Tearin' the Labor Camps Down." He is a very complex, easily misunderstood human being, who refuses to be pigeon-holed.

It would be nice to say that Merle has turned left. That's not the case, as the albums finale clearly demonstrates. In the sure-to-be-misunderstood "White Boy," he returns to convenient scapegoats like welfare and asserts that "if you want to get ahead, you gotta hump and git it."

Contradictory? Probably. But

also an honest reflection of the nature of much of the American working class. If you want to find out where much of Middle America is at, this album is as good a place as any to start.

Ain't It Somethin' is James Talley's fourth album. As in his earlier classic, *Tryin' Like the Devil*, which was a milestone in the fusion of social lyrics with high quality Nashville music, Talley sings about people's problems in a way that hasn't been matched since Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger teamed up about 40 years ago.

While the lyrics are not as overtly political as in *Devil*, Talley's populist message rings true, particularly in his songs about the ill-fated plutonium workers from "Richland, Washington" and in a touching, tragic paean to the "Poets of the West Virginia Mines."

As always, Talley is backed by some of the finest musicians in Nashville today, including Josh Graves on dobro, Johnny Gimble on fiddle and mandolin, and the omnipresent Charlie McCoy on harmonica.

Talley's commercial appeal has not yet matched his artistic ability. After dismal sales on his first three albums—largely the fault of poor promotion—Capitol apparently decided to change his image. Judging from the album, they hadn't agreed on a new identity when they went into production. The result is a musical grab-bag. There are several country songs (of which half are country blues, half country rock) and a couple of folk tunes. The rest is brassy, bleached soul. Individually these songs are fine; collectively they create a blurred image.

Let's hope the next time out, the producers and the promo people can get it together and get Talley the commercial success so long overdue.

—Sheldon Sunness

Sheldon Sunness is a free-lance writer in New York.

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How to Exceed in Show Business



Francois Truffaut

Continued from page 24

Guide, some Cubans-in-Miami weeklies, a number of Canadian papers, and one man who was identified as a free lance.

What everyone of these 150 members of the free press got for his/her time and trouble was:

- first class air fare to New York and back
- two nights in a hotel room, at \$50 plus per diem,
- all the food and drink he/she could "reasonably" consume,
- a press kit in the form of a handsome brief case containing a GE tape recorder and six cassettes,
- souvenir paperweight with ball-point pen,
- an expense account to cover out-of-pocket "incidentals."

Unfortunately, those who tried out their tape recorder before leaving the "hospitality suite" discovered that they didn't work. Most of the cassettes had been "safeguarded against erasure" and would not record until scotch tape was pasted over the safeguard slots, and most of the batteries were either dead or so close to it that they only lasted through 15 minutes of the press conference for which they had—presumably—been provided.

There was a good deal of chest-swell-ing at that conference on the subject of

the technological achievements of western civilization as evidenced by the "production values" of CE3K (as it is called by the initiate). The boasts will not be quoted verbatim because the tape recorders, even those with brand new batteries, had a range of about half the average distance to the speakers' platform. And the pen in the souvenir paperweight didn't work very well either.

The effect of all this largesse on the audience that filled the Ziegfeld Theater for the screening of *Close Encounters* can only be deduced from the behavior of individual members of the press corps and an examination of what they wrote when they got home.

The college and countercultural editors seemed adversely affected, at least on the first day and evening. They did a good deal of frowning and muttering to each other while waiting for elevators or service in the bar, and showed up for the theater in belligerently informal attire.

Older and more cynical characters simply wallowed in the trough, testing the elasticity of the term "reasonable." One man confessed at breakfast that he and his wife had eaten (and drunk) \$70 worth of dinner and been so afflicted by their own gluttony that they could hardly sit through the film.

But no one got up and walked out. Applause was positive, but nothing like as loud as the sound that preceded it. And all the talk one heard as one struggled toward the exits was about what had happened to Columbia's stock when *New York* magazine printed a panning on the basis of a sneak preview in Dallas.

The next morning came the real hype: the televised press conference, presenting a panel of personalities:

- the film's two leading actresses;
- the four-year-old actor whose fate provides the principal suspense of the scenario;
- the highly-publicized writer/director, Steven Spielberg (*Jaws*);
- the two producers, Michael and Julia Phillips (no longer Mr. and Mrs.);
- Douglass Trumbull, director of special effects, also billed as "the next Walt Disney";
- and Dr. J. Allen Hynek, professor of astronomy at Northwestern University and head of the Center for the Study of UFOs.

They were all agreeable, modest, sincere and personable. Most took the occasion to say how much they admired some-one—usually Spielberg. (He admired

Trumbull.) And all (except the four-year-old) spoke reverently of the "privilege" of having been associated with this tremendous "breakthrough."

Even before Dr. Hynek came on with his hard facts routine, it was clear that CE3K is not to be treated as science fiction. Such a visitation from outer space is—in Spielberg's phrase—"something that may already have taken place" without our being informed of it. (The heavy in the film is the Army, which is suppressing the truth we all have a right to know.)

Melinda Dillon, who plays the mother of the child temporarily kidnapped for observation by the "aliens," confessed to having had what she now realized was an "encounter," long before she was cast in the role. It obviously affected her. "The first time I saw the mother ship when we were shooting," she said breathily, "it was like I was seeing God."

And producer Julia Phillips admitted to having "this fantasy where we were 'planted' to make this film to get the world ready for something like it to happen."

Not to believe in the face of these fervent testimonials seemed positively boorish. But a few brave hold-outs tried to entrap Spielberg or Hynek with trick questions like "where did you get the idea for materializing your aliens?"

Spielberg was hoping for that one. He explained that they had got all the details for everything relating to the UFOs from "actual reports." Blinding light had already been used in 2001, and he felt the audience needed something more, "something humanoid that people could relate to.... What we've got is like a police composite photograph, combining the salient features of a whole bunch of different descriptions.

Dr. Hynek stepped in to confirm that "Steven has done his homework." There is nothing in the film that has not been reported, including the aliens' recessed ears, precognition on the part of selected earthlings, and sunburn on the face and neck of those who are exposed to close encounters.

What all this has cost can't be computed as yet. There are still some subsidiary promotions to finance—like toys, T-shirts, and a *Close Encounter* perfume, as well as all the display advertising and TV for each local opening.

But assuming no cost overrun on an \$8 million dollar budget, what is Columbia getting for what it has paid for?

The answer is that exposure to the

World Press Premiere treatment seems to have left the same sort of sunburn as a swooping space ship.

Within hours of the exodus from the Americana Hotel ballroom, there were stories in major dailies on the reflection of the preview on Columbia's common stock. One story reported a special screening for Columbia's financial analysts who had emerged from the theater predicting that CE3K would make money, though not as much as *Star Wars*.

(One begins to wonder if the "security leak" that lead to the panning in *New York* was not part of the hype.)

Predictably, the more venal—or impressionable—members of the critics' circle wrote puff pieces designed to be quoted in display ads. One was "left tingling from head to foot." Another saw "the heavens brought down to earth." Still another congratulated Spielberg for having "the audience sitting with him in the lap of the universe, ready and waiting for new magic to fall into their lives."

But even the more sober journalists went looking for things to admire. Mostly they found them in the good intentions of the script vis-a-vis visitors from space, and in the brilliancy of the effects. Critics like Vincent Canby of the *New York Times*, who were not stunned into superlatives, took three-quarters of a page to say that they found it entertaining, though not as much fun as *Star Wars*. And Sunday supplement features proliferated like snakes cut from Medusa's head.

The interviewer from the Chicago *Tribune* asked Spielberg if he was "having as much fun now as he had when he was just getting started in the business." And Spielberg, who is 29 and shows his driver's license to prove it, replied that "it's always more fun to be a rising than a dawning star."

Hard-liners like *The Reader* (Chicago) did illustrated articles on the goodies bag. College editors consulted the heads of the physics and math departments on Dr. Hynek's credibility. The foreign press has noted the inclusion of a sequence filmed in India, which demonstrates that UFO sightings are not an exclusive privilege of the West.

And an independent socialist weekly devotes more than a page to proving that for better or worse you get, in the way of coverage, just about what you can afford to pay for. What more could Columbia Pictures ask?

—Janet Stevenson

TELEVISION

Over-Under is right on!

OVER-UNDER, SIDEWAYS-DOWN

Written by Peter Gessner and Eugene Corr

Directed by Eugene Corr and Steve Wax

With Robert Viharo and Sharon Goldman

"Visions," the PBS-TV series that created such a flap over funding last spring, is off to a good start with *Over-Under, Sideways-Down*. Although the film was made in 1975 (by Cine Manifest, an independent film collective based in San Francisco), times haven't changed enough since then to make this story of blue-collar angst any less significant.

The film looks at the life of Roy, a factory worker in California, who starts out fairly content with his family, job and position on a semi-pro baseball team. Roy gets along well with his fellow workers, even managing to sandwich a few laughs in between the relentless noise and pushing of the assembly line. But the bottom falls out of things when he gets fired for attempting to file a grievance on someone else's behalf with a corrupt shop steward.

He is out of work. His wife (who has already begun to bug

him by going back to school) gets a job to help support them. Roy's fantasies of being discovered by a pro ball scout suddenly seems foolish. He goes back to the factory to lend some half-hearted support to a wildcat strike that has broken out. But as he tells a former co-worker, he knows they can't possibly gain anything because "they (the bosses) own everything."

If Roy is beaten down by the system, his wife is even worse off since she is, in turn, beaten down by him. No working-class hero, Roy rants and raves bitterly when she "abandons" him and the children to find work, threatening his manhood and causing him to throw the furniture around. She endures the abuse because, as she confides to a friend, he needs her. The last straw is not long in coming. When Roy attempts to come back after running away from home, he finds the welcome mat has been pulled in. This time, his wife warns, things will be different.

Films about workers run the risk of easing into one stereotype or another, i.e., either they are noble beyond belief, or uncouth to the same extent. *Over-Under*,

Sideways-Down portrays common working-class situations in a style that is neither condescending nor glamorized. (A few "typical" lower-class details, e.g., middle-aged women in white-framed sunglasses and hotpants and knick-knacks of incredibly bad taste did find their way in.)

The principal characters are played by Robert Viharo and Sharon Goldman, who are so natural in the parts that they hardly seem to be acting. The script is well-written; the dialogue realistic without sounding corny; and the direction is low-key, but effective.

The slice of two persons' lives seen in *Over-Under, Sideways-Down* is a depressingly familiar, oft-repeated story for people who gradually come to realize, like Roy, that their "reasons for getting up every morning" has been a pretty flimsy one. In the film, as in real life, there is no readily apparent solution.

—P. Hertel
P. Hertel reviews films regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Over-Under, Sideways-Down is soon to be released as a feature film. IN THESE TIMES will print an interview with the film's two directors in the next issue.



Robert Viharo



Melinda Dillon and Cary Guffey, braced for a close encounter.

How to Exceed in Show Business

There has never—well, hardly ever—been a hype like the one that is still under way on behalf of *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*.

Although the film has only opened in a few cities, most of the reviews are in, and it seems a good time to examine the product and the promotion in light of that capitalist proverb: you get what you pay for.

At the recent New York "world press conference," Edmund Neumann of NBC-TV rose to ask, "How much is the budget for advertising and promotion, and how much will you have to earn to make this amount back?"

He got an answer only to the first half of his question: "between \$7 and \$8 million—as against a negative cost of \$19 million." Anybody who can add without a computer can figure out that the net receipts (after distribution costs and exhibitors' cuts) will have to be close to \$30 million or *Close Encounters* will lose money.

The advertising budget for this film is as astronomical as its subject matter. For example, last spring—months before the film was finished—Columbia took two

pages in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* (at a cost of about \$8,000) to prepare the public mind for a scheduled December release.

One full page defined "encounters" of all three kinds. (First, sightings of an unidentified flying object; second, physical evidence of a visit from one; third, contact.) The opposite page urged readers to "watch the skies overhead." Facts were cited: that 15 million Americans have reported having seen UFOs; that there are approximately 100 sightings worldwide in each 24 hours. The logical conclusion was drawn: that we are not alone.

And for those not fortunate enough to have been contacted, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* would be a Christmas gift from Columbia's Magi.

This was only one salvo in one city, and only "pre-publicity." A full page in the *New York Times*, quoting favorable reviews and costing something like \$10,000, is typical of the current campaign.

But no amount of advertising will generate \$30 million worth of trade at the box office. For that you need columns of copy, pictures, interviews (on radio and TV as well as in print), profiles, background and foreground material and technical discussion of the technical achievements of this Son of 2001 and *Star Wars*. That's what Columbia was bidding for when it arranged the gathering at which

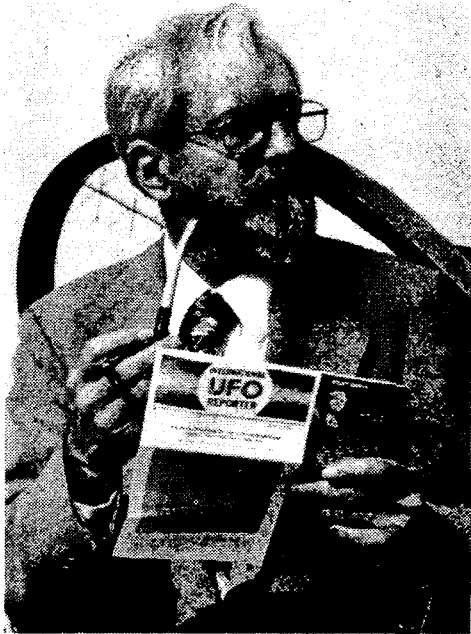
Ed Neuman (on camera) asked his undiplomatic question.

The World Press Premiere was launched in early September by a flashy brochure invitation extended to entertainment editors and film critics all over the U.S. to fly to Los Angeles for a screening of "the most eagerly awaited film in Columbia's 52 year history." This junket was later cancelled (by Mailgram) due to difficulties experienced in the lab, "combining 65mm and 35mm negative into a 6-track, Stereo, Dolby encoded 70mm print."

Instead there were to be two separate "world press premieres" early in November; one in L.A. for everyone based west of the Mississippi Valley; the other in New York. IN THESE TIMES was included in the latter and had a chance to study the list of fellow acceptees.

Besides 67 representatives of large metropolitan dailies, most of which sent only one person (the *Washington Post* sent four), there were 28 representatives of the college press (two each from the Universities of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Michigan and Michigan State). There were representatives of "underground" and "throw-away" papers (Boston's *Real Paper* led the field with four on the free list). There were editors of science fiction fan magazines, the Spanish language editions of *Cosmopolitan* and TV-

Continued on page 23.



Dr. J. Allen Hynek, astronomer



Steven Spielberg, writer/director



Douglas Trumbull, the new Walt Disney